THE PROMISE OF A COUNTRY: THE IMPACT OF SEASONAL U.S. MIGRATION ON THE JAMAICAN PEASANTRY

BY

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Abstract of Dissertation Presented to the Graduate School of the University of Florida in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Since 1943, Jamaican peasants have been legally migrating to the United States seasonally and annually to harvest agricultural products, picking apples in the Northeast and cutting sugar cane in South Florida. This study assesses the impact of these migrants on their home communities, paying particular attention to their utilization of U.S. earnings. Comparing a sample population of migrants' households to a sample population of peasants who have not had equivalent migration experiences, the study tests hypotheses which predict that returning migrants will invest in their primary economic activities, in this case their peasant farms. These comparisons reveal that few differences exist between the

two populations in terms of demographic, agricultural production, and socioeconomic variables. The findings lead to the rejection of hypotheses which predict that labor migrants returning from developed countries to underdeveloped ones will substantially contribute to the development of their home countries. Instead, this study shows that Jamaican peasant social structure, and peasant production which is oriented toward household maintenance, social security, and reproduction, function to spread the migrants' foreign earnings throughout their social networks, undermine their ability to accumulate capital, and, ultimately, aid in the reproduction of the peasantry. However, in cases of prolonged participation in seasonal, international labor migration, some peasant households have been able to shift from spending their earnings in ways which reproduce the peasantry to the acquisition and accumulation of capital. This process tends to result in changes within and between peasant households, and usually involves peasant households diversifying their economic activities into agricultural and nonagriculrual sectors of the Jamaican economy.

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

This study investigates the consequences of international labor migration on the social relations and economic activities of a peasantry. Its central concerns are the return of international labor migrants to their home communities and the ways in which the migrants utilize the money, goods, information, and experiences they acquire through migrating to another country to work. Specifically, the study focusses on the impact of the British West Indies Temporary Alien Labor Program on the Jamaican peasantry. This program is a legal labor migration program in which workers from the five Caribbean countries of Barbados, Dominica, Jamaica, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent travel to the United States seasonally and annually to cut sugar cane in South Florida for around five to seven months (late October to March or April). The program also allows Jamaicans to travel to the U.S. Northeast to pick apples during September and October. A small percentage of those who pick apples also harvest sugar cane. The decision to focus specifically on the

program's impact on the Jamaican peasantry was based on preliminary analysis which discovered that 80% of the work force comes from Jamaica and 91% of the Jamaicans are peasant farmers while at home (McCoy and Wood, 1982).

Hypotheses and Research Methods

In March of 1981, a research team headed by Terry McCoy and Charles Wood of the University of Florida interviewed 302 British West Indian cane cutters at the South Florida labor camps during the last few days of the harvest. The purpose of the project was to identify the sociodemographic characteristics of the labor force, and to investigate the ways in which the workers were utilizing their U.S. earnings, both in the U.S. and in their home countries.

It is commonly assumed that migrants' earnings in developed countries, carried home or remitted, as well as the skills and experiences they acquire abroad, contribute to the economic development of the sending countries (Spengler and Myers, 1977; OEDC, 1978, 1977). Indeed, the presumed beneficial impact of international labor migration has been used to justify and legitimate the British West Indies Temporary Alien Labor Program in both government and industry circles. For example, a 1978 U.S. Senate/ Congressional report, citing previous testimony in court

cases concerning the program, asserts that the program ". . .has the additional merit of being beneficial to the economy of the British West Indies" and that ". . . migration, both temporary and permanent, has contributed and will in the future contribute to the realization of the goals of development programs" (U.S. Senate/Congress, 1978: 17, 29). Despite the fact that the program continues to be justified both here and in the Caribbean by reference to this presumed beneficial outcome (The Miami Herald, 1982; The Daily Gleaner, 1982), little empirical evidence has been brought to bear on the issue. It was therefore important to discover whether or not these U.S. earnings were being transmitted to the sending Caribbean economies in the ways predicted by apologists of the program. A central aspect of the survey conducted by McCoy and Wood was whether these cane-cutters were accumulating capital at home and laying the basis for income-generating activities, or were simply consuming their earnings, reproducing themselves and their households, without significantly contributing to their home countries' economic development.

Survey results indicated that, with the exception of Barbados, the cane cutters were predominantly recruited from the small farm or peasant sectors of their home economies. Around 68% of the West Indian population were peasants while at home. Analysis of the Jamaican sub-sample revealed that 91% of these men farmed some land

in 1980, with the average amount farmed being around 3 acres (McCoy and Wood, 1982).

With most of the men coming from small farms sectors of the Caribbean, one way to determine the program's impact is to ask whether these cane cutters use their U.S. earnings for capital formation and accumulation resulting in increased agricultural production and improved productivity. The presumed positive impact of U.S. employment implies that the return migrants would be buying land, farm equipment and livestock, hiring workers, bringing more land under cultivation, planting more cash crops and adopting more of the characteristics of capitalist economic activity because of their employment in the U.S. and the skills, knowledge, information, and money they gain there.

McCoy and Wood tested this hypothesis by comparing farm workers who had worked for fewer than four seasons with farm workers who had worked for four or more seasons. As a result of their longer participation in the program, workers with four or more years of employment in the U.S. presumably had more of the information, skills and earnings than did farm workers with only one to three years of experience. A multiple classification analysis demonstrated that the "old timers'" earnings were higher than the "newcomers'," a result of the sugar companies' annually screening out the less productive farm workers

(Wood and McCoy, 1982). However, the comparisons revealed that there were no significant differences between old timers and newcomers in terms of selected agricultural variables (amount of land farmed and numbers of heads of livestock). These findings provide little support for the contention that seasonal employment in the United States leads to the formation and accumulation of capital among small farmers in the Caribbean.

These findings, however, are inconclusive due to the limitations of the method used by McCoy and Wood. The approach compares migrants with other migrants rather than migrants with other Caribbean peasants who have never worked in this program or have not had an equivalent employment experience. These tests also fail to take into account the possibility of nonagricultural investments on the part of the farm workers who migrate to the U.S. Empirical evidence from numerous cases of Southern European and Mexican return migration demonstrate that returning international labor migrants often invest overseas earnings in nonagricultural economic activities (cf. Abadan-Nervat, 1976; Brandes, 1975; Reichert, 1981; Dinerman, 1978, 1981). These findings are supported further by research focussing on the allocation of extra funds and extra family labor by peasant households which show that peasant use these extra resources to finance nonagricultural investments and economic activities (Cook, 1983; Chayanov, 1966).

A more valid analysis of the impact of The BWI Temporary Alien Labor Program involves comparing a population of farm workers who migrate to the U.S. to a population of Caribbean peasants who have not had the opportunity to work in this program nor have had an equivalent employment experience. The present study began with the intention of making such comparisons. Specifically, the focus of this analysis was to compare two such sample populations in terms of a number of agricultural and socieconomic variables. These variables were derived from ethnographic field research conducted during the first eight months of 1982. This research was designed to determine the nature of Jamaican peasant farming and to identify the opportunities open to Jamaican peasants for investment, farm expansion and growth, as well as the means by which Jamaican peasants become socially and economically differentiated from one another.

This phase of field research was conducted in the 9861-acre Two Meetings Watershed in Jamaica's mountainous interior. From 1977 to 1983, this area was the site of the Ministry of Agriculture/ USAID Second Integrated Rural Development Project (IRDP). The total population of the watershed was around 2000 peasant farm families. In the absence of a complete list of the families, cluster sampling was used. The first step entailed mapping the area and becoming familiar with patterns of settlement and

land use. Subsequently, the watershed was divided into 80 research areas of around 125 acres each. Forty of these research areas were randomly selected, with the intention of collecting information on 5 peasant households per area or a 10% sample of 200. Inclement weather, transporation problems and other difficulties prevented me from reaching this goal. As a result, I finished the initial round of interviewing and observations with a 6.7% sample of 134 peasant households.

Of the households selected, forty-five of these had one member, usually the male household head, who had participated or was currently participating in the BWI Temporary Alien Labor Program. The remaining 89, the control population, had no such individual, although seven of these households contained one member who had had similar or more extensive migration experiences: six participated in a Canadian Farm Workers Programme (nearly identical to the U.S. apple harvest migration) and one had been a long term migrant to England where he was a machine operator for 15 years. In the final comparisons between the two populations, I excluded the seasonal Canadian migrants, yielding a control population of 83.

From all 134 households I collected information on the aspects of Jamaican peasant farming discussed above as well as sociodemographic data. This information was cross-checked by direct observation, through the use of key

informants, with AMC, Potato Cooperative and IRDP records and by repeated visits to the households and their fields. Subsequently, I randomly selected a sub-sample of 11 farm workers' households and 11 control households, from whom I collected more detailed and more reliable data on investment strategies, household histories, social relations with other houses and changes in the farming system over time, as well as supplementing previously obtained information. This sub-sample was also used as a gauge by which I could judge the reliability of the findings from the larger sample of 134 respondents. From the farm workers I also obtained additional information specific to their experience of working in the United States (e.g., number of seasons, whether they worked in apples or cane or both, years of travel, expenditures in the U.S., uses of overseas money, etc.).

After completing the survey research in Jamaica, I traveled to the United States between September and December of 1982 to conduct research in the appple growing region of the U.S. Northeast and the sugar cane growing region of South Florida. In the U.S. Northeast I visited three apple labor camps, in Martinsburg, West Virginia, Winchester, Virginia and Londonberry, New Hampshire. In addition to observing and interviewing Jamaican farm workers, I interviewed residents of the U.S. host communities and U.S. Department of Labor personnel and

consulted local newspapers. Both in South Florida and in the U.S. Northeast I paid specific attention to the consumer behavior of the Jamaicans, to the wage figures shown on their paychecks, to their remittance behavior, and to their interactions with the native U.S. populations. Because of difficulties associated with the geographic distance between labor camps, random sampling was impossible. Instead, I utilized my relationships with Jamaicans I had met in Jamaica during the summer of 1982 for the selection of respondents. The information gathered in this context provides useful data on migrant workers in the U.S., although the nature of the sample precludes generalizing to the labor force as a whole.

In 1983, I returned to Jamaica for four months to observe the behavior of women in the Two Meetings Watershed and their use of remittances received from the migrants. I also interviewed and observed migrants' households from parishes outside the Two Meetings Watershed (primarily St. Elizabeth and Westmoreland) for comparative purposes.

Implications of the Study for Peasants as Labor Migrants

The findings of this study contain implications for the study of peasants, especially those analyses which focus on peasants as migrant laborers. Although peasants have been the subject of scholary attention for decades,

controversy remains over the precise definition of this term. While this work will not resolve this debate, it is necessary to review the characteristics that enter into the definition used here. Generally, peasant production is organized on the basis of social relations within and between rural peasant households. Unpaid or underpaid family labor, cooperative labor arrangements, and hired labor are combined within the peasant production process to provide rural households with agricultural and petty goods and services. The household is the principal unit within which decisions are made and in which labor is allocated for production. The relations within and between households are dynamically related to the natural or biological growth of the peasant household and its relationship to the growth of other households. The primary object of peasant production is to provide for the subsistence and the eventual reproduction of the household (Meillassoux, 1972). Subsistence involves the material provisioning of the peasant household and draws peasant households into relationships with one another, within and between generations, which provide social security for direct producers and for those too old and too young to work. Reproduction involves the physiological reproduction of the human energy necessary to engage in labor-intensive production, as well as the reproduction of the social relations within and between peasant households which

provide for social security and provisioning. Peasant agriculture tends to be characterized by small and usually marginal landholdings, labor intensive production techniques, and diverse crop and livestock varieties which assure household nuturitional needs. In addition to meeting household nutritional needs, peasant farms provide, or attempt to provide, rural households with cash through the sale of produce to local, regional, national and sometimes world marketing systems.

Peasants are not everywhere uniform in the strategies they employ to survive and reproduce. Some peasantries, as in the case of Jamaica, include segments who attempt to acquire and accumulate capital for investment and expansion purposes. Historically, peasantries such as the Jamaican peasantry have been defined as living in open peasant communities as opposed to closed corporate communities (Wolf, 1957). Although peasants the world over live in communities that are politically and economically parts of nation-states, these communities differ with regard to the degree of their interaction with the nation, and the effect of outside contact on the social relations within the peasant community. Jamaican peasant communities have historically been open to outside influences. Typically, peasantries such as the Jamaican peasantry include peasants who, by responding to market and investment opportunities, have become transformed from peasants into rural producers

who own and control small scale capital. The intrusion of the world market demand for bananas into Jamaica, for example, resulted in many peasants becoming small capitalist farmers (Robotham, 1977: 53; Griffith, 1979), many of whom retained links to the peasantry. In the case of those who produced bananas, a substantial portion of these capitalist farmers returned to a reliance on peasant social relations following a plague of diseases which crippled the banana trade in Jamaica (Griffith, 1979).

Although Jamaican peasants are similar to other peasants in open communities, Migdal (1974) has argued that communal control and resistance to outside contact in closed peasant communities has begun to erode. Migration has contributed greatly to this process (Migdal, 1974: 112-125; cf. Magnarella, 1974: 179-183, 1979:119-123; Brandes, 1975: 13-17). The findings presented here on the impact of labor migration on a peasantry may therefore be applicable to both closed and open peasant communities.

Labor migration is common among peasants for a variety of reasons. Because they often produce at levels below the minimum needed for household maintenance and reproduction, or because their household consumption demands expand as they are exposed to wider varieties of goods and services, peasants must often supplement income generated by household production by seeking wage labor. The necessity of supplementing household income with wage labor often

results in internal labor migration (migration within the peasant's home country) or international labor migration. Both internal and international labor migration among peasants have received a great deal of scholarly attention in recent years. These studies have resulted in the development of theories which seek to understand, explain, and predict the causes and consequences of labor migration for both sending and receiving societies.

In the context of these broader issues, this study presents an analysis of data on Jamaican peasants who return to their home countries after participating in a seasonal, international legal labor migration program. A principal objective is to test the hypothesis that these migrants contribute to the development of their home countries by investing overseas earnings in primary economic activites, in this case their peasant farms. The findings also have some limited implications for theories of labor migration among peasants, in particular theories which address the issue of whether or not return migration results in the economic development of countries which routinely supply labor to other, more developed countries.

As noted previously, a central issue in the literature addressing the relationships between return migration and economic development is whether or not migrants returning from developed to underdeveloped countries use their earnings to acquire and accumulate capital. Capital

formation and accumulation among returning migrants have received attention because these factors are assumed to be economically beneficial for underdeveloped countries. Positive macrostructural effects, in turn, are assumed to follow from the improvement of the individual migrant's standard of living, the generation of employment, an increase in the production of goods and services, and a decrease in the migrant's reliance on state welfare systems. On the other hand, if return migrants fail to accumulate capital with their earnings, using them instead to meet household expenses, the benefits of international labor migration accrue primarily to the industries in which the migrants work. The benefits to the migrants' home countries and communities are vastly reduced or may, in some instances, be negative. The latter is presumed to follow from the fact that sending countries contribute to the maintenance of migrant laborers during their unproductive years (youth and old age), while the industries and countries in which they work receive the benefits of their labor power during the peak productive period. Unless the migrants acquire and accumulate capital, they continue to tax the support systems of their home countries and communities while contributing little to the development of productive enterprises which could, in turn, reduce reliance on these support systems. Without capital accumulation, the migrant returning home must

continue to rely on wage labor, compete with others for jobs in countries usually characterized by high rates of unemployment, as well as compete for such things as credit, agricultural extension services, development monies, and health and education services. Finally, without capital accumulation, the migrant's children also continue to rely on and need the systems of support provided by the state and informal social security networks, and must continue to rely on wage labor.

The impacts of internation labor migration on the sending countries, however, should not be regarded as entirely negative. The remittances migrants send to underdeveloped countries provide foreign exchange for the underdeveloped country, the migrants' households benefit during the migrants' years of travel by acquiring goods and income, and the absence of the migrants reduces pressure on support systems and labor markets while they are away. Nevertheless these positive effects must be placed in the context of the negative factors noted above.

Three dimensions of The BWI Temporary Alien Labor Program make it particularly suitable to the study of the impact of return international labor migration on a peasantry. First, it is seasonal labor migration, providing Jamaican peasants with the opportunity to annually move between their home communities and a setting in which they are wage laborers, spending around half of

the year in each setting. The participation of Jamaican peasants in this program thus differs from most incidences of legal international labor migration among peasants, which usually involve peasants residing in countries foreign to them for long time periods, such as those who participate in the European guestworker programs (e.g., Magnarella, 1979; Abadan-Unat, ed., 1976; Rhoades, 1978; Brandes, 1975). Seasonal migration among peasants is usually confined to labor migration within their home countries (e.g., Kemper, 1977). Second, the program is international, with migrants moving between underdeveloped countries in the Caribbean to a developed country and then returning to the underdeveloped country. This provides Jamaican peasants with an opportunity to receive wages which are high by the standards of their home countries, as well as to acquire the goods, information, and experiences of an economically developed setting. Third, the Jamaican peasants who participate in this program vary with regard to the number of years they travel to the U.S., some participating in the program only a single year and others particicpting as many as twenty to thirty years. This allows us to introduce a temporal dimension into the analysis, focussing specifically on how differential participation in the program, and hence different degrees of frequency of movement between the peasantry and the wage

labor setting, leads to differential social relational and economic impacts within the peasantry.

The analysis of this program's impact on the Jamaican peasantry proceeds along two comparative lines. First, comparisons are made between Jamaican peasants who have participated in the program and Jamaican peasants who have not had equivalent migration experiences. These comparisons seek to determine the extent and nature of the socioeconomic differentiation which occurs within the Jamaican peasantry as a direct result of seasonal international labor migration. That is, these comparisons address the question of whether the single variable of seasonal international labor migration functions to differentiate peasant producers from one another.

Second, the aspect of differential participation in the program allows us to compare the participants in the program with one another, focussing on the results of differing degrees of access to the wages, goods, information, and experiences of the developed world. These comparisons are designed to investigate the importance of the number of years of participation. The information gained through these comparisons contributes to a better understanding of the role of international labor migration in the process of socioeconomic differentiation and social change within the peasantry. This portion of the study provides insights into the changes which peasants undergo

as a result of differential participation in capitalist wage labor settings.

A Note on Organization

The following chapter discusses the general aspects of the BWI Temporary Alien Labor Program and the relationships that exist between government, industry, and labor in the U.S. and Jamaica in the context of the program. It argues that U.S. agribusinesses desire access to this labor force because they are "captive" laborers, and that the continuation of the program rests on a particular intimacy between industry and government which has widespread political support. It then discusses the recruitment process in Jamaica, pointing out that national level intentions are subject to reinterpretation at the local level, and arguing that the workers recruited for the program have direct and indirect social connections with representatives of the Jamaican power structure. Chapter three, shifting to the microlevel affected by these broader processes, describes the social environment from which Jamaican peasants are recruited into the program, paying particular attention to Jamaican peasant social structure and the economics of peasant agriculture. Chapter four presents the comparisons between the farm workers' households and the control peasants' households, and

explains the results of these comparisons by examining peasant social structure, the life cycle stage of the farm workers, and the unreliability of peasant agriculture, in terms of how they channel peasant economic behavior and affect the ultimate destinations of U.S. earnings. Chapter five focusses specifically on the role of women as recipients of remittances from the program and argues that their concern for social security functions to reproduce the labor force and the conditions of life facing the peasantry. Chapter six then shifts the analysis toward the differences in expenditure patterns between long-term and short-term participants in the program. It argues that long-term participants are sometimes able to satisfy household consumption, social security, and maintenance expenditures, and subsequently shift from reproductive expenditures to the formation and accumulation of capital. Chapter seven then considers the case of Jamaican peasant migration to the U.S. in terms of its implications for theory and development.

CHAPTER II
THE BRITISH WEST INDIES TEMPORARY ALIEN LABOR PROGRAM

In a study prepared by the U.S. House/Senate subcommittee on immigration, the program which underlies this study is called The British West Indies Temporary Alien Labor Program. In the Ministry of Labour and Employment of the country which provides 80% of the workers, they call it The Farm Workers Programme. These names emphasize different aspects of the same program: the former to its characteristic of admitting non-U.S. citizens into the United States on a temporary basis, the latter to its characteristic of admitting these men for agricultural as opposed to industrial employment. The name Farm Workers' Programme also conveys the accurate meaning that the men who participate in the program work on farms not only in the U.S. but in Jamaica as well. But in Jamaica they are farm workers of a highly different character: they work on farms not as wage laborers but as the owners or principal managers of those farms. They are peasants at home, rural proletariat abroad. They participate in two qualitatively different sets of social relations of production. The products they produce in the two contexts

are only superficially similar: they are agricultural products in both contexts, but in the U.S. these agricultural products, apples and sugar, are commodities, grown strictly for sale. In Jamaica the agricultural products the farm workers produce are grown for both home use and for sale. That is, they are foods for the household which, given a good yield and good market, sometimes double as commodities, or commodities which, given a poor yield and poor market, sometimes double as foods for the household. In the United States they work to help create profits for others; in Jamaica they sometimes have to eat the goods which could possibly create profits for themselves.

Begun during WWII, in 1943, legally sanctioned on April 29th of that year under Public Law 45, the Farm Workers' Programme in its first year of operation admitted 13,526 men from the Bahamas and the English-speaking Caribbean to work as agricultural laborers throughout the U.S. east of the Mississippi River. World War II was in full swing and the industrial centers of Detroit, Chicago, Gary, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Newark, New York and other cities throughout the Eastern United States were drawing U.S. citizens out of agricultural occupations and into the armed forces and the defense industry. These population movements within the United States stimulated simultaneous populations movements from the countries of Latin America

and the Caribbean in the U.S. to fill the agricultural jobs that the U.S. citizens left behind in their rush to help the war effort. These job opportunities, formerly restricted to people born and raised in the U.S., were suddenly offered, on a temporary basis, to people born, raised, fed, clothed, educated, enculturated, and unemployed or underemployed outside of the United States. Responding to cries of labor shortages among the nation's producers of food and fiber, various agencies and decision-making bodies within the U.S. government organized, legalized, and administered the Mexican Bracero Program, which ran from 1943 to 1964, and the BWI Temporary Alien Labor Program, which continues today, forty years later.

During the war years these programs stimulated little controversy. Few people in either private or public sectors of U.S. society and economy, including spokesman for organized labor, accused these few thousand foreign workers of displacing U.S. workers from jobs or depressing wages and working conditions. Besides, two years after the war's end, in 1947, the number of agricultural laborers admitted from the British West Indies fell by around 10,000, to 3,722. In 1949, the number fell even further, to 2,765. This absolute decline of BWI workers, however, did not mean that U.S. citizens were returning to work in the fields. Instead, in the post-war years, it was largely

mechanization of agriculture that was responsible for the destruction of these jobs.

Nevertheless not all agricultural harvests have been mechanized with the same speed and labor saving efficiency. South Florida's sugar cane fields, for example, are soft and mucky, formerly vast swamps, today disappearing due to oxidation at a rate of around an inch per year. These soils prohibit the use of machine harvesters used by Louisiana sugar producers (these huge machines squash young ratoons which grow into the following year's crop). Regarding the apple harvests, no machine has yet been successfully tested which can climb trees and gently pick easily bruised fruit with the delicacy of the human hand. In addition to the lack of fully mechanized harvest in these agribusinesses, other developments affecting U.S. agricultural production during the post-war years also served to slow the extent to which mechanization undermined the availability and number of jobs for agricultural laborers. The sophistication of drainage and irrigation technology, fertilizers, hybridization breakthroughs, improved refining, storage and packaging techniques, more rapid and complex systems of transport, the development of new products, expanding domestic and overseas markets during the rising post-war prosperity in the developed world all contributed to an expansion of acreage planted in food and fiber crops. Consequently, more agricultural

labor was needed for the production of those agricultural products that were harvested primarily by human energy. South Florida sugar producers and U.S. Northeast apple producers, the principal agricultural producers in the U.S. utilizing BWI laborers today, taking part in this more general period of progress, thus needed more and more workers for their harvests, workers which purportedly could not be found or relied upon in the domestic labor market. In 1950 the number of workers imported from the islands began to rise.

Table 2-1
Numbers of H-2 Visa BWI Workers Admitted Into The United States: 1950 - 1975

Year	Number of Workers
1950	6,255
1955	6,616
1960	9,820
1965	10,917
1970	11,887
1975	12,813

Source: U.S. Congress/Senate, 1978: 27

In 1981, the U.S. Department of Labor certified 14,735 British West Indians for work in South Florida (U.S. Employment service, 1982).

How, in the face of rising domestic unemployment, can these U.S. government agencies justify the continued admittance of British West Indians for employment in the United States? The most apparent reason for this is offered by the Employment and Training Administration of

the United States Department of Labor, the government agency which administers the BWI program. According to the ETA, growers desiring access to this BWI labor force have to satisfy two criteria: first, they must demonstrate that the admission of BWI workers will not adversely affect domestic farm laborers' wages or working conditions and, second, they must, through active recruitment campaigns, demonstrate that there exists no sufficient domestic labor force to harvest their crops (U.S. Department of Labor, 1978). Satisfying both these criteria requires the active involvment of local, state, regional, and the national offices of the U.S. Department of Labor. Personnel from the branch offices inspect housing conditions in the labor camps, aid in the recruitment campaign for domestic workers by advertising these farm labor jobs in their files, and act as liaison people between the national DOL office and the growers in the certification process. The national office determines the wages and piece rates which are to be paid to both domestic and foreign workers. Until 1981, according to the ETA, the national office determined the so-called "adverse effect wage rates," or the actual wage and piece rates paid the workers, on the basis of a Department of Agriculture publication entitled Farm Labor. Farm Labor published survey materials that gave a state by state average annual wage rate paid to field and livestock workers. Taking, for example, Farm Labor's rate for the

State of New Hampshire during 1979 and 1980 and calculating the percentage increase in the average annual wage rate from one year to the next, the national office then added the percentage increase onto the 1980 wage rate to determine the rate for 1981 for New Hampshire. This rate was then paid to the Jamaicans who picked apples in 1981. It was also paid to Jamaicans who picked apples in New Hampshire in 1982. In 1982, however, the same rate was paid to Jamaican apple and sugar workers, not because there had been no percentage increase in average annual wage rates from 1980 to 1981, but because the Department of Agriculture publication, Farm Labor, and its information about wage rates, no longer existed due to U.S. Government budget cuts.

These are the principal components of the U.S. government bureaucracy annually involved in the BWI program. Since 1943, U.S. agribusinesses have been able to satisfy the criteria of no adverse effects and have been unsuccessful in their efforts to recruit domestic farm labor. According to the Florida Fruit and Vegetable Association, Florida sugar producers annually spend around $15,000 on recruitment campaigns directed toward domestic farm labor (McCoy and Wood, 1982). Year after year these campaigns have failed to produce an adequate, reliable, or willing domestic labor force for sugar cane harvests. The New England Apple Council annually publishes statistics

showing that between the beginning and end of the apple harvest in Connecticut, Maine, Massachusettes, New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Vermont, only around 20% of the originally hired domestic labor force worked the entire season. Most of the domestic laborers who quit do so before the harvest is six days old (New England Apple Council, 1980, 1981, 1892). Apple industry representatives for growers in Virginia, West Virginia, Maryland and New York publish similar findings (Reubens, 1979).

But the question of whether or not a domestic labor force exists to cut sugar cane and pick apples has not been answered to everyone's satisfaction. The sugar and apple growers maintain that no reliable domestic labor force exists and appeal to statistics compiled and published by growers and their representatives to support their purported need for British West Indian labor. Yet many organizations and agencies in the U.S., particularly since the beginning of the 1970s, have legally questioned the implications contained in these statistics. In 1973, the United Farm Workers attempted to obtain an injunction against the importation of foreign workers for the Florida sugar cane harvest, claiming the sugar corporations were lax in their efforts to recruit domestic cane cutters. The UFW was defeated in court, primarily because of testimony stating U.S. citizens simply could not do the work because of a "social taboo" (Shabecoff, 1973: 24). In a series of

court cases brought against the growers since 1977, the U.S. Department of Labor has attempted to provide a domestic labor force for the sugar and apple harvests by bringing in workers from various parts of the United States, including Puerto Rico, but has usually failed to have these actions legally upheld by court decisions.

In these cases, sugar and apple growers base their denial of relying on a domestic labor force on past experience. Grower-funded publications tell us that year after year, although a full contingent of domestic workers may begin the apple harvest, at least 70% of this domestic labor force quits in the first five days of the harvest. With Jamaican labor, however, the situation is quite different. The Jamaicans are, in the terminology used by the Employment and Training Administration of the U.S. Department of Labor, a "captive labor force." They cannot choose to move on to new and subjectively better jobs. They are certified to work for a single emplyoyer, and they cannot legally work anywhere else in the United States. They can go back home if they so desire, or "run away," becoming illegal aliens. But if they wish to work legally in the U.S., they must work for the single employer with whom they have signed a contract. Domestic workers, on the other hand, have the freedom of movement to move on to better jobs and, according to grower publications, usually do move on to better jobs. The captive nature of the

Jamaican work force thus assures the apple and sugar growers that their crops will be harvested and it is this aspect of the Jamaicans which primarily underlies the growers' preferences for Jamaicans over domestic labor. But this is not the only reason. The Jamaicans also constitute a much more docile and accommodating work force than domestic laborers, because if they act up at all, attempt to unionize or strike, for example, the growers will not call them back the following year. And, even though the apple and sugar harvest may be undesirable occupations among U.S. citizens, among the Jamaicans, products of a poor country without employment opportunities as relatively high-paying as these U.S. agricultural jobs, these occupations are highly desirable.

The final and perhaps most convincing argument used by the growers to gain access to this labor force concerns the specific characteristics of the labor force and the structure of the work setting. In Florida especially, the work setting requires the mobilization and transfer of eight to nine thousand men who are willing to work without their families for five months out of the year, and who can conveniently disappear at the end of the harvest. This kind and scale of labor mobilization and transfer would be difficult or impossible to achieve by relying on the U.S. domestic labor market. Because the BWI workers come predominantly from Caribbean peasantries, their own farms

and households can support them between sugar and apple harvests, and while they are gone the other members of their households can care for their farms. Thus, while the U.S. domestic labor market may be unable to accomodate the needs of growers, the Jamaican peasantry, as a labor market, satisfies growers' needs.

The State and Recruitment in Jamaica

In Jamaica, the state is no less instrumental than the DOL in the annual process of reproducing the program. U.S. apple growers can request 100% of thier workers to return annually. However, U.S. sugar growers can only request 60% of their foreign workers to return each year. McCoy and Wood describe the relationships that exist between the sending governments and the sugar industry as follows:

> For its part, the sugar industry seeks to restrict participation to those workers who have demonstrated their reliability and productivity during previous seasons. The island governments, on the other hand, feel the need to keep the opportunity open to as many of their citizens as possible. The existence of these competing interests has led to the institutionalization of a compromise recruiting procedure. The arrangement balances the growers' preference for a stable, experienced worker force with the desires of the BWI governments to spread participation in the migratory stream around among their populations. (1982: 8)

In Jamaica, in the spring of every year, job cards are sent out from the Ministry of Labour in Kingston to

Ministers of Parliament throughout the island. These job cards are passes into a three to four hour session in the parish capitals where U.S. agribusiness representatives meet with job card recipients and select from these gatherings their labor pool. The job cards are chances at employment in the U.S., not guarantees. They are scarce, highly desired slips of paper representing not only the possible chance to work in the U.S. but to acquire access to the goods the U.S. has to offer and to have, for perhaps the first time in their lives, steady incomes with which to purchase those goods. The men who receive them protect them with brown paper or plastic wrappings and handle them as delicately as a single surviving photograph of a dead mother.

Overtly, the system of job card distribution follows lines of political patronage throughout the island. Ministers of Parliament receive their quotas of cards from the Ministry of Labour and Employment and pass them to their appointed liaison officers and councillors within their constituencies. Minister's quotas change annually but the rural MPs receive more cards than urban ones, given the agricultural bias of the program. The MP for Northeast Manchester, for example, received 276 job cards in 1982. On the local or district level in the countryside, the political party action groups are called committees and each district has both Jamaican Labour Party (JLP) and

People's National Party (PNP) committees. If the MP is a JLP member, it will be local JLP committees who receive the cards from the MP's liaison officers and councillors. These committee members are the men and women who actualy hand the cards out to the Jamaican men who meet with the U.S. agribusiness representatives. Along with the job cards the committee members receive a sheet of paper describing characteristics which they are to use to select workers. Workers are supposed to be between the ages of 21 and 45, for example, have muscular builds, be reliable workers, and so on.

But when dealing with a social resource as highly desired as job cards, these selection criteria and the neat structuring of the system of job card distribution yield ground the to nepotism, favoritism, promises, achievement, sympathy, kindness, bribery. As the following table indicates, although the primary sources of job cards are committees, nearly 40% come from other sources:

Table 2-2
Sources of Job Cards (n=45)

Source	Percent of population
Committee	61.3
Minister of Parliament	12.9
From another person who first received card	12.9
Justice of Peace	6.5
Ministry of Labour	6.5

There are indications that on the local level the strongest determinants of the handing out of job cards are largely familial or familial-like in nature. The incidence of committee members giving job cards to their sons, step-sons, nephews, brothers, cousins, and other male friends and relatives is high. Around 70% of the workers in my sample have had brothers, cousins, fathers and sons who have also received job cards. Another 20% received their cards because of friendship ties, either directly or indirectly through fathers or uncles who received the cards because they were friends with some politician or other involved in the job card network.

Table 2-3
Connections for Job Cards

Connection	Percent of population
Kinship	68.5
Friendship	20.3
None	11.1

Other strategies of gaining access to these cards include working for political party elections, giving labor free to committee members, outright cash expenditures (tips) to committee members, or committee members keeping the cards for themselves. Moreover, the system of job card distribution does not always end with the politicians (see table 2-2, row 3). Once the committee members and other

politicians have parted with their cards, around a month before meeting with U.S. agribusiness representatives, the favors, debts, rights, obligations, and so on which come into play are demonstrative of the desperation and ingenuity which the rural poor so often draw upon to gain access to scarce social resources. As evidence of the desperation involved, one woman told me of a case where a son threatened to kill his own father if his father failed to give him the card he received from the committee. Extreme and unimaginative means such as these, however, are reported with much less frequency than cases of men offering free of immediate charge their labor, time, donkeys, spray pumps and other resources at their disposal in order to cultivate connections with individuals who have potential access to the job cards.

The resourcefulness and ingenuity of these Jamaican men trying to get job cards is all the more admirable, as well as more evidently desperate, when one considers that these cards guarantee nothing. As noted previously, all these cards do is let the men into a session where they meet with representatives of the Florida Fruit and Vegetable Association, the Jamaican Ministry of Labour and the U.S. sugar corporations that hire the workers. This team of selectors further trims the list of men eligible for the program. How many names they put on the list which constitutes the labor pool depends on how many men they

happen to need in a given year. By what objective or subjective criteria these sugar industry representatives decide to select or reject Jamaicans only the representatives themselves can say, but the time they spend with each man cannot be more than a few minutes. For thirteen days, for an average of three to four hours per day, these selectors visit one parish capital per day and meet with between 300 and 400 Jamaican men a day. No more than six or seven of this team actually interview the workers. According to the workers, these six or seven interviewers check the hands, eyes and teeth of the Jamaican men and ask them a few questions like, "Can you eat rice and pork every day for five months?" or "Can you work all day seven days a week?" or "Have you ever cut sugar cane before?" The check of the hands is supposedly a means to determine a background of agricultural laboring which causes a roughness and callousness to form over the palms and fingers. The check of the eyes and teeth evidently is some indication of general bodily health. If they pass this verbal and physical screening, they are subjected to a more rigorous physical examination in Kingston and in their parish capitals on subsequent occasions.

To give an indication of what these screening sessions are like, on May 14, 1982, in a small park in Mandeville, capital of the parish of Manchester, around three hundred

to four hundred men gathered, beginning at 6:00 AM, to await the arrival of these sugar industry and Jamaican government representatives. They showed up early, standing around in groups of four and five, taking part in the general tension and anxiety coursing through the crowd. Around 7:30, three identical silver Honda Accords pulled into the park. These contained the men from the FFVA and the U.S. sugar corporations. Twenty minutes later, a copper colored van bearing the Ministry of Labour insignia pulled into the park, loaded with bureaucrats toting forms in triplicate and other cumbersome paraphernalia. Subsequently, the men filed through for their short sessions with the FFVA and sugar industry representatives. Then and there they were told whether they passed or failed this initial screening, but even those who passed were not assured of U.S. employment. They still had to pass the medical tests and even then their names might have been placed on a list of replacement cane cutters and apple pickers, called only in the event of another worker meeting an accident overseas. So even after all their jockeying for political favor and job cards, the chance exists still that they will not be called for employment in the U.S.

Recruitment and the Characteristics of the Labor Pool

Because the nature of job card distribution determines the character of the labor pool from which U.S. agribusinesses draw their men, any attempt to improve upon the program by selecting for "desirable" characteristics among the Jamaican men must acknowledge this discrepancy between national and local level priorities, affiliations, goals, and loyalties. What is of primary importance in this study, however, is not the potential of an improved program but the empirical dynamics of the program as it exists today. It is within such empirical analysis, and by virtue of empirical analysis alone, that we are able to understand and subsequently determine what improvements in the program are possible. Consequently the question we must ask of job card distribution is this: What does it tell us about the current complexion of the labor pool which fuels this program?

Recent research on the socioeconomic backgrounds of international and internal labor migrants tells us that they tend not to come from the poorest strata of rural society. Because of the high costs associated with international travel and settlement in a foreign country, extremely poor peasant farmers simply cannot acquire enough money to make such a move. Instead, international labor

migrants tend to come from somewhat richer, better educated, and generally more experienced members of rural life, their migration being yet another step in the continuing attempts at improving their already relatively higher standards of living. Kemper, studying internal migrants from Tzintzuntzan to Mexico City, found that migration from the country to the city was not a single, blind, desperate move but was instead based upon a dynamic of social and financial support from the household of origin to households, often related, at destinations within Mexico City (1977). Such necessary connections are usually cultivated through long, intergenerational social positioning which draws upon the prior resourcefulness and existing social connections of grandparents, parents, siblings, and direct and mutual friends in both Tzintzuntzan and Mexico City. Portes (1979), studying illegal Mexican migrantas in Texas, found that they were generally better educated than the norm of Mexican rural society. Ransford Palmer describes the long-term Caribbean immigrants to New York and other ares of the Eastern seaboard as containing a high percentage of people from skilled technical and professional fields (1976). Bonacich, Light and Wong (1977), studying Korean immigrants to Los Angelos, and Reichert (1981) and Dinerman (1978, 1980) in Mexico also come to similar conclusions concerning the backgrounds of migrants.

The logic common to these studies is that poor households cannot finance migration. The Jamaican men who travel to the U.S. to work in this program, however, do not have to spend much of their households' money to do so. Beyond nominal transportation fares between their home districts, parish capitals, and Kingston for the initial selection and medical tests and finally the flight to the U.S., the burden of the costs associated with travel and settlement are initially borne by the Government of Jamaica and the U.S. apple and sugar companies for whom these Jamaican men work. Free housing is provided for the men, board costs are deducted from their fortnightly paychecks and their air fare is paid by their employers as long as they work for at least one half of the contract period (Agreement for the Employment of British West Indians In Agricultural Work in the United States of America, Form A, 1982: Clauses 5a and 5f). Without having to bear the heavy transportation and settlement costs associated with an international move, it is conceivable that men from relatively impoverished households can participate in this program.

The Jamaican men who come to the U.S. to work in this program, however, do not come from the poorest strata of Jamaican society. The reasons for this are clear. First, the poorest of the Jamaican poor tend to be women household heads and especially urban women household heads (Chaney,

1982). The obvious male and rural bias to this program precludes these members of Jamaican society from participation in the program. Second, in order to pass the tests of U.S. selectors, these men must maintain an appearance of strength, adequate nutrition, and other visible characteristics associated with physical fitness. Subsequent medical test must uphold the largely subjective decisions of these U.S. selectors. This, however, does little to diminish the male population eligible for the program: distended stomachs, brittle hair, wasting away, skin disorders and other visible characteristics associated with debilitating nutritional deficiencies are highly uncommon among Jamaican men over the age of 20. While Chaney argues that "the principal dietary problem is insufficient proteins and calories available to the poorest 70 percent of the population," she also says, "only 0.9% could be classified as severely malnourished" (Chaney, 1982: 2-4). Most of these are young children. Finally, to get job cards, participants in the program must in most cases have either direct or indirect kinship or friendship ties with local political party committee members, or else must be able to devote time and energy to the cultivation of these connections. In the Jamaican countryside, the extremely poor, often landless peasants and rural proletariat, usually do not have these ties and cannot devote time to their cultivation. Two findings support

this: 1) the Jamaicans most qualified to cut sugar cane, those who are professional cane cutters, represent only 20% (see table 2-4) of the U.S. cane cutting labor force, and professional Jamaican cane cutters are among the poorest landless rural proletariat in Jamaica; and 2) the kinds of land tenure arrangements which tend to characterize poor Jamaican peasants (service tenure and sharecropping) are practiced by only 1% of the U.S. cane cutting labor force (see table 2-5) (McCoy and Wood, 1982; Beckford, 1972; Griffith, 1979).

Table 2-4
Experience Cutting Sugar Cane (n=206)

Experience	Percent of population
None	58.3
On own farm	21.1
Professional	18.1
Own farm and professional	1.5
Professional on another island	.5

Table 2-5
Home Land Tenure Among Jamaican Workers In South Florida (n=206)

Form of Tenure	percent of population
Own	27.2
Lease/rent	31.6
Sharecropping	1.1
Family land	27.4
Other	6.5

While the Jamaican men who participate in the program do not come from the poorest strata of Jamaican society, neither do they tend to come from households capable of financing their members' migration and settlement in a foreign country. They must be connected to or be capable of establishing connections with local political figures, but most often, for politically strategic reasons, these local political figures at the district or committee level are not much better off than the farm workers who travel to the U.S. in the program. Indeed, many of the committee members either give their job cards to brothers, nephews, sons, step-sons or other male household members or keep the cards for themselves. Nevertheless the committee members, and by extension the recipients of job cards, are at least loosely or indirectly connected to the Jamaican power structure. This connection constitutes a social resource with the potential of yielding not only jobs in the United States but also such things as access to credit, agricultural extension services, development programming (i.e., aid monies and materials from Norway, New Zealand, England, Germany, the U.S. and other developed countries), government job contracts and so on. Whether they get these job cards by their own resourcefulness or by being the son of a committee member, eventual possession of them is evidence that these farm workers have direct and indirect

access to Jamaica's social resources. Social resources, throughout this work, refer to the resources a society has which provide access to social forces of production, to investment opportunities, employment opportunities, and markets. In addition to job cards, they include, for example, credit institutions, agricultural extension services, lawyers, politicians, and administrators of marketing centers. They can also include influential people who can provide access to economic opportunities.

Norman Long refers to this access to social resources as "the strategic placement" of individuals within their broader social systems (Long, 1977: 135). Other social scientists studying peasants in recent years have referred to this strategically placed segment of rural peasant society by other terms and phrases but the importance of these designations is usually the same: it is from these strategically placed rural households that we expect to find, and do in fact find, the highest levels of entrepreneurship among the peasantry (Long, 1977; Long and Richardson, 1978; Pearse, 1975; Migdal, 1976; Cook, 1983). These peasants with the highest degrees of access to social resources, either because of preexisting kinship and friendship ties or by virtue of their own cunning and ingenuity, tend to be the same peasants who innovate, experiment, invest their time, energy, and money, and utilize all the social and economic resources at their

disposal to better their standards of living and in some cases create viable, growth-oriented, profit-generating economic enterprises. In these endeavors, of course, the social system within which they operate must cooperate to some extent. Such socially advantageous situations, however, are rare among the peasantry, and the social systems in which they act more often hinder than help their entreprenuerial activities. This is partly because of a misunderstanding of the dynamics of peasant entrepreneurship and partly because of the demands of a broader social order which dictates poverty to many for the maintenance of the wealth of a few. Nor does development programming as it exists today and has existed for the past thirty years tap this peasant resourcefulness, given the documented failures of development programs throughout the Third World under the rubric of the Green Revolution during the 1950s and 60s and aid agencies such as USAID today (Hewitt de Alcantara, 1976; Belshaw, 1976; Spicer, 1952; Paul, 1955). The most innovative, creative, experimental and ingenious of peasant entrepreneurs are not necessarily or automatically the most receptive to development programming. Although they usually will take advantage of some of the services a development project has to offer, peasant entrepreneurs, numerous social scientists have demonstrated, are often more knowledgeable about the local social setting, economic, and ecological constraints and

potentials than the so-called "experts" (whom the late Solon Kimball defined as "someone from out of town"). Moreover, rural development programming is usually agricultural development programming and little or no attention is given to the documented attempts of peasants to search for nonagricultural investments in such areas as crafts production (Cook, 1983), transportation, middleman functions, and so on (Pearse, 1975; Burchard, 1974).

Just because the Jamaican men who participate in this program have access to these job cards and other social resources, however, does not lead automatically to an assumption of an ingenious population of peasants coming to the U.S. to work. Most of these men, remember, acquire job cards by virtue of preexisting kinship and friendship connections. That they take advantage of the particular social resource of job cards is no indication that they will take advantage of other social resources. Nor is it any indication they will put the money they make in the U.S. to uses which generate future standard of living increases. Surely some can and some do. However, allegiances and influences change within the Jamaican power structure and these are felt at the district level. Nevertheless, the element of strategic placement and the potential for entrepreneurship characterizes these seasonal farm workers to the U.S. With all the overseas money they make annually, around three to four thousand U.S. dollars

per worker per year, it is appropriate to assume, for the purpose of social scientific investigation, that they enjoy higher standards of living and finance, and engineer more productive economic enterprises than their rural peasant brethren whom they leave behind.

CHAPTER III
AN ETHNOGRAPHIC OVERVIEW OF A CENTRAL JAMAICAN PEASANTRY

A Portrait of a Jamaican Peasant

It is before dawn and although Lenworth is still in bed he has not been asleep for hours. A fog has thickened during the night, reaching from the valley floor to above the ridge, making the air damp and cool. The foot-worn, bare, shiny concrete of the floor feels smooth and cool as he slips from the double bed where his wife and their three youngest children still sleep. The youngest child, a girl, is two weeks old. There is no clock in the room and Lenworth does not have to look at his wristwatch to know that first light is less than an hour away. Through the blue and green length of cloth that hangs in the doorway to the next room he can hear his three other children breathing, sleeping on blankets on the floor. Two of the four rooms of his rough concrete block house are suitable for living, but the room in which he sleeps is the only one that is completed. The next room needs a jalousie window in the space that is now boarded over, and a bed for the children.

In two hours the July sun will have burned off the fog and Lenworth will be waiting in Christiana outside the office of the Director. The Director has three weeks of work which consists of clearing away the tall grass around the young pine trees along a northeast facing slope in the Yankee Valley, across the asphalt road from Lenworth's home. The Director promised Lenworth the work a month ago but now the Community Development Officer is trying to give the contract to a friend with whom he worked in the last election.

Although it is still dark Lenworth does not light the kerosene lamp on the dresser at the foot of the bed. The room is small, ten by twelve feet, and Lenworth moves to the front door in three strides and steps outside. He stands in the gray dust of the unfinished block veranda, inhaling the cool air carrying odors of farm animals and bougainvillea and wet grass. He wears only a pair of shorts. On his chest there are patches of tight, curly hair. Soon the houses along the road will start their morning fires and he will smell coffee and woodsmoke and yams roasting. Somewhere far away a cock crows and Lenworth thinks that a mongoose in the grass wakes to note the cock's position. He stands looking at his two young goats tethered to a breadfruit tree and hopes he will not have to sell them to buy rice and flour and condensed milk.

He calls them his doctor bills. It would be a crime to have to sell them for anything less than an emergency.

Lenworth walks over to the goats and consoles them. His eldest son, Isra, will take them down to the summer flowers and grass by the river before he leaves for school. The goats press against him. Lenworth's skin is deep black, as black as a Bible's cover, and when he stands he is five feet nine and finely muscled from work in the fields. The toes of his feet are splayed from walking barefoot and his hands are rough and caloused.

Lenworth leaves the goats to walk through the four square chains of garden around his house. He and Barbara have planned the planting and care of the garden so it will bear some kind of food during every month of the year. Daily they can count on small yields of casava and yam for the household. Soon they will have jack fruit and breadfruit, just as the fruit of the sour sap tree begins thinning. The sorrel plants are young now. At Christmas, Barbara will squeeze the fruits into a sweet red traditional drink. He stoops to the youngest of the yam vines, their new growth smooth and purple. Behind them, further down the slope, crooked stakes support the thorny vines of yams that are ready to eat. Between these are a few banana and plantain trees and seven small coffee trees. Along the side of the house are patches of sweet potato, pok chow, tomatoes, carrots, cabbage, and thyme, and in

front there are twelve pineapple plants in a small space ringed with begonia. Lenworth has five young ganja plants which he is watching to determine whether they are male or female. The males he will pull up to increase the potency of the females.

Around the side of the house, below the jalousie window of the room where Lenworth sleeps, a rusted oil drum stands with a twelve inch wide sheet of corregated zinc rising from the water in the drum. Lenworth rounds the house to the drum and dips a red plastic cup into the water and drinks. Already the eastern sky is brightening. In the pale light, the yellowing whites of Lenworth's eyes are the color of the grayish tan smoke from burning sugar cane. On Lenworth's chin is a small, square beard, and the tight curls of his hair on his head are cropped close. His skin conforms closely to his high, protruding cheek bones. Between these his broad nose's nostrils angle up and back. He is missing a front tooth.

He hears, inside, his wife Barbara stirring from bed. Through the window he watches her leave the house, carrying a machete. She walks around the other side of the house, crosses the stamped smooth dirt of the back yard into the field of yams behind the house that slopes down into the valley. She digs down under the yam vines and severs a piece of yam from the huge root. Finishing, she joins Lenworth at the drum and drinks from the same cup. She is

five inches shorter than Lenworth, lighter skinned, still overweight in the aftermath of pregnancy. The hem of her full-length, light blue robe is the red of the soil and frayed from dragging along the ground.

The small, rectangular wood structure behind them, now their kitchen, used to be attached to a seven room wooden house that they have since dismantled for firewood. It belonged to Lenworth's mother, whose grave is marked in the yard with a concrete slab. She has been dead less than a year. During the last years of her life she lived with Lenworth and Barbara. She saw Lenworth travel to Canada for two years to work in a cannery and saw him use his earnings to build the four room concrete block house. He was not called back after the second year and the construction of the house had to stop. Just before she died she saw him begin travelling to the United States as a farm worker.

The bottoms of the slabs around the the kitchen are jagged, rotting, insect-eaten, rust-colored where they touch the ground and soak up its moisture. Barbara crosses from the drum to the kitchen and, inside, selects wood for the morning fire. In the rear of the kitchen, on a metal lid from an oil drum on a shelf, she builds the fire. Smoke fills the kitchen, seeping through the cracks in the kitchen wall and above through the ill-fitted shingles of the roof.

Lenworth is inside now, dressing for the meeting with the Director. His finest clothes he keeps in a suitcase on top of the tall cardboard wardrobe that stands in the corner beside the door. Inside this same suitcase he and Barbara keep their most important papers and records: the title to two pieces of land, Lenworth's now expired driver's license, Barbara's savings account pass book showing a balance of two dollars, the identification card Lenworth used when he travelled to Canada and a similar card and pay slips from his two years as a farm worker in South Florida. His second youngest child, a boy of four years, breathes irregularly on the bed in the same room. He has a slight cold. Lenworth treates the cold with a mixture of myrrh, ganja, water, and white rum. Lenworth believes that the ganja has the same effect as penicillin.

From the suitcase he takes his only pair of slacks which do not have holes in them and a blue knit sport shirt. If he were going to work in the fields he would be dressing in the black ragged slacks and t-shirt that are draped over a small wooden bench outside the door. He wishes this thing with the Director and the Community Development Officer had not occurred because he needs to plant some yam heads on the three square plot of land by the airstrip. Barbara could do it if she were not still recovering from childbirth. The moon is right for the planting.

There is enough light in the room from the sun now that he can see himself in the mirror above the dresser. Taped to the mirror are yellowing snapshots. Below these, on the dresser's top, sit jars of Vaseline and lotions and a tin of powder for the newborn. Lenworth adjusts his beret in the mirror, slanting it to the side, and then goes outside to join Barbara for breakfast. She hands him a plate of roasted yam mixed with a small portion of salt fish and a single slice of white bread. He has coffee in a tin cup, sweetened and clouded with canned milk. Barbara has only coffee.

They speak of the meeting with the Director. Lenworth tells her that he needs a letter to show the Community Development Officer. The letter must be signed by the Director and must say that the work was promised to Lenworth. The Director knew Lenworth's maternal grandfather and Lenworth hopes that this will help the Director decide in Lenworth's favor. Barbara knows that once Lenworth has mentioned his grandfather he will begin on the subject of his father's side of the family, most of whom are in England. At fifteen Lenworth's father tried to get Lenworth to England but could not acquire the necessary papers. Lenworth is thirty-three years old and has not seen his father for twenty-two years. He still regrets that bad luck with the papers. In England, now, he has two half-sisters who are nurses and a half-brother who drives a

bread truck. His father works in the bakery which supplies the truck.

The sun is full now and the heat of the day beginning to create waves of thick vapor from the green of the valley. Soon the first taxi heading to Christiana will pass. The kitchens along the road, beside their houses, are now all beginning to send up smoke through the thatch or around the zinc of their roofs. Inside the house the children are waking up. Isra steps from the house in his khaki school uniform and takes the two goats down the footpath to the river. Barbara fetches the newborn and suckles her. Gloria, Daphne, and Narissa, the other three girls, step outside dressed in the light-colored blouses and navy blue smocks that Barbara sewed by hand. She purchased the cloth in Christiana from a store owned by a Syrian family. The money came from selling three hundred pounds of yellow yam to Gwen, the higgler who owns a rum shop by the airstrip. The last one out of the house is Karl, the four year old with the cold. He is bare from the waist down and the front of his striped shirt is in rags. He has a round chubby face and small features like his mother.

Lenworth has finished his breakfast and while the others eat he goes into the unfinished room inside the house and takes a paint can from the corner. Inside the silver can are ganja and a portion of a brown paper grocery

bag. He tears off a section of the paper, fills it with around one-quarter ounce of ganja, and rolls it into a four-inch, cone shaped cigar, twisting the large end closed. With the unlit cigar in his mouth he puts on his tennis shoes and moves from the house to the kitchen to light the cigar with a stick from the fire. Isra has returned from tethering the goats. Lenworth tells him that he must return directly home from school and then meet him at the yam ground by the airstrip. They have to plant yams and cut stakes for the vines from the brush near the IRDP's fenceline.

From the road now, a half-mile away, come the sounds of the light blue Hillman that will carry Lenworth to Christiana. There are two taxis that travel the road between Christiana and Silent Hill and always Lenworth rides in the Hillman because it is owned by a friend of his. He climbs the path to the road, ten yards away, reaching the road just as the Hillman rounds the bend. As he gets into the car he feels good that he is finally going to meet with the Director.

Lenworth and his family live in the Two Meetings Watershed in central Jamaica. The above description was designed to give the reader a general impression of some aspects of Jamaican peasant life. The following discussion presents information on the physical, social, and economic environment in which Lenworth and his family live.

The Two Meetings Watershed

Until early in 1983, the Two Meetings Watershed had been one of the two sites of the USAID/Ministry of Agriculture 2nd Integrated Rural Development Project (IRDP), a project begun in 1977 with the aid of the Norwegian government and subsequently funded by USAID fromn 1978 to 1983. According to Peace Corps volunteers and USAID personnel, early in 1983, some accounting discrepancies were discovered, funds allocated for specific works projects had mysteriously disappeared, the project crumpled and USAID pulled out. The former project's southern boundary begins about a half-hour's ride by minibus north of Mandeville, the bauxite mining boom town and the country's largest inland city, capital of the parish of Manchester. The watershed itself extends into small sections of four parishes: N.E. Manchester, N.W. Clarendon, S.W. St. Ann, and S.E. Trelawney. Shown a map of Jamaica, someone asked to point to the dead center of the island would probably come pretty close to the Two Meetings Watershed. This central location accounts in large part for the wide variety of foodstuffs and other goods sold on Fridays and Saturdays in the peasant markets in Christiana and Spaldings, the two major marketing centers within the watershed. In addition to these

commercial centers, the watershed encompasses all or portions of the smaller towns of Dump, Alston, Lorrimers, Wild Cane, Bohemia, Moravia and Silent Hill. Such towns are characterized by one to four small grocery stores (rum shops), a bakery, a postal agency, a church, a school, perhaps a ginger merchant or a banana boxing plant. In all, there are around nineteen districts in the watershed, the lowest level political divisions in Jamaica. In 1978, IRDP personnel estimated the watershed's peasant population to be around 2000 farm families, or around 15,000 people of all ages. The settlement pattern today follows the road system, most of the dwellings either on a road or within a short walking distance of one, and the roads in most cases follow the ridges atop the valleys that criss-cross the watershed. A half century ago there was more settlement along the small rivers on the better farmlands of the valley bottoms, but today Jamaican peasants face the world. Footpaths connect roads with other roads, houses with fields and other houses, follow the small rivers or sometimes disappear into the underbrush. Roads, footpaths, and rum shops physically connect peasant households with one another and with the information, goods and services disseminating from Spaldings and Christiana and attaching peasant households to the outside world, usually through patron-broker-client relationships (Blustain, 1982a). From Thursday evenings to Saturday afternoons this

interdependence of world, town and countryside is particularly evident: trucks, taxis, minibuses and buses bring the higglers and owners of rural rum shops into the commercial centers to sell their produce and buy stock for their shops. Marketing women descend from these means of transport laden with burlap and plastic bags of Jamaica's agricultural produce and an array of domestic and imported clothing and other petty commodities. The owners of the rural rum shops load their wholesale wares onto buses and taxis. Through Christiana and Spaldings, goods from all over the country and the world filter out into the surrounding countryside.

Houses, Yards, and People

The peasants' households in the watershed accommodate and average of six to eight people. Quite often, male household heads also have one or two children from previous unions whom they still support. Intergenerationally, this phenomenon of "outside children" increases the number of consanguineally related households between which money, goods, services, and information flow. This biological, social, and economic overlapping of peasant households is a salient characteristic of Caribbean peasantries (Gonzalez, 1970; Clarke, 1957; Beckwith, 1929; Mintz, 1974) and is common as well among peoples living in both rural and urban

impoverished conditions (Stack, 1970; O. Lewis, 1966). These diffuse kinship networks are adaptive in an environment where households must combine a variety of survival strategies as well as provide social security and other services not provided by the state. At the same time, such diffuse ties of family within and between generations often undermine the foundations of capital accumulation among Jamaican peasants because, quite simply, too many individuals have some familial claim on whatever resources funnel into the family network.

These ties between households are not highly visible, however. The most readily observable family unit consists of a woman, a man, the children they have had together and the children the woman has had by other men. Variations on this general pattern are frequent: it is not uncommon to find an unmarried daughter with one or two children still living at home, or a parent of the male or female household head, or two conjugal or quasi-conjugal unions representing parent and offspring generations living together with some of the elder couple's children and most of the younger couple's children.

Whatever the specific arrangement, the general evolution of houses and yards which accommodate these family units, as an ideal, varies little. Establishing a new household, a young couple will either rent a place or build a small, single room dwelling, usually of scrap wood,

corregated zinc, cut and straightened sides of cans, bamboo, thatch and whatever other construction materials they can obtain. If enough construction materials are available, they will also build a separate structure which serves as a kitchen. Around these structures the yard consists of stamped and swept dirt reaching to the edge of the family garden. These house-and-garden plots are generally between one-quarter and one-half acre in size. If all goes well, the house will expand as the family expands, more elaborate and expensive construction materials such as cement blocks, cement, reinforcement rods, sheets of zinc, two-by-fours, jalousie windows, doors and locks will accumulate and gradually coalesce into a newer, larger, stronger structure as the cash to hire masons and carpenters becomes available. Rooms will be added on at a variable rate depending on income. During this progression from wood to concrete the former single room dwelling space will become the kitchen and the former kitchen will become firewood. As for furnishings, the bed and cooking ware come first, then a dresser, china cabinet, tables and chairs and, for the more affluent, light fixtures, sinks, appliances.

This general evolution is, of course, an ideal. The actual wealth differences as expressed by house type and elaborateness of housing vary greatly within the peasant population of the watershed. Few peasant households have

indoor plumbing. A few more, but still a minority, have electricity. Telephones are virtualy nonexistent among the peasantry. Refrigerators are rare and stoves rarer. Most of the cooking is still done over open fires within the wooden kitchens separate from the sleeping quarters. The insides of these structures are blackened and freckled with ash, smoke filled. Firewood and dried yams are shoved up into one corner in a pile. Along the walls from wooden pegs hammered into pine beams hang pots and pans, if there are any. A machete and a mortar and pestle are standard equipment. Alongside these huts, old rusty oil drums catch the rain for the family's drinking water.

During the day these kitchens tend to be the centers of activity for those staying home from the fields. Women and children gather in and around them, soaking and squeezing the poison from bitter casava, spreading red peas or coffee beans on sheets of zinc or strips of cloth or cardboard in the sun, shelling peas, scraping green bananas, roasting yellow yam, sorting seed potatoes, skinning ginger root and piling up the shavings which crinkle in the dense tropical sunlight. From these activities mild and pleasant odors of ginger and pepper and coffee emerge and drift out into the fields where they mix with other fires' odors and the less appealing smells of manure and beasts.

If there is a single characteristic which accurately describes the majority of the houses and yards among the watershed's peasants, it is that they are not yet finished. The unfulfilled ideal of a fully furnished home which can comfortably accommodate the entire family is in evidence everywhere: piles of construction materials with weeds beginning to grow up around them, skeleton rooms without windows or doors or ceilings, bare rooms, families of eight crowded into a single wooden windowless structure with a thatch roof. The building and furnishing of a house among the Jamaican peasantry is a number one priority in the dreams of independence, yet it can easily become a life long process of sporadic construction followed by years of such acute poverty that further construction remains hopeless. Although the squalid, hungry and barren living conditions described by some scholars familiar with the Third World's poor (e.g. Heilbroner, 1963) are rarely found among the Jamaican peasantry, Jamaica's wealthy are the people whom they compare themselves to, as well as those closer to their standards of living but wealthier. To tell them there are people starving in Ethiopia does little to diminish their relative despair.

But they are not a continually despairing people. They long for improvement, attempt to improve their standards of living, but they do not sit around crying about their poverty. Throughout their four centuries

of hardship, they have cultivated a knack for resiliency. They may be dissatisfied with life and accept their poverty, fatalists to some degree, occasionally ashamed of their positions as other peasants around them improve, but they are not terribly unhapppy, not totally bereft of satisfaction and feelings of pride and accomplishment. At dusk their rum shops fill with people playing dominoes, shooting craps, dancing, listening to music, singing, drinking and smoking what they believe to be the highest quality ganja in the Western Hemisphere. At the same time they can be a dignified, proud, friendly, courteous and deeply religious people, capable of much generosity in spite of their poverty.

Yet all societies are fraught with contraditions, within as well as between socioeconomic classes and groups, and Jamaica is no exception. To say that Jamaican peasants or peasants anywhere are essentially cooperative or essentially autonomous, rugged individuals finds no basis in reality. Thus, these women and men trade labor and tools with one another, give and receive food, sex, land, and mutual aid, and simultaneously gossip maliciously about one another, envy and mistrust each other, occasionally cheat and steal from one another. For both cooperation and antagonism there are historical foundations. Sexual antagonism runs high. Child abandonment is not uncommon.

Verbal agression is widespread but physical aggression extremely rare.

Phenotypically ranging from deep, deep black to the lighter shades characterizing the island's mulatto elite, these peasants are visually quite sensitive to this continuum of skin color. They routinely invoke their richness of melanin as a means to explain their relative poverty within Jamaican society. Many believe they are poor because racist atitudes of the white society have functioned to keep them down. A good deal of the literature on social stratification and pluralism in Jamaica has served to reinforce such explanations (M.G. Smith, 1960; Henriques, 1953; Curtin, 1955; Beckford and Witter, 1981). Most of the peasants in the watershed do in fact fall at the melanin-rich end of the continuum. There is no doubt that Jamaica is a highly racist society in which shades of skin acquire significance in social interaction and account for some social divisions, as well as for the attitudes of salf-hatred and mistrust which quite often surface in conversation. In a rum shop a Jamaican once laid his arm on the bar next to mine and, pointing to my arm, said, "This is good." Pointing to his own arm he said, "This is bad. You give twenty dollar to this color and you have to fight the man to get it back . . ." A little girl told my wife she wanted to go to Canada so she could bleach out and come back and get a job in a

bank. Another black man told me that he knows when he deals with blacks, something will go wrong, but whenever he deals with whites he knows everything will be cool.

Nevertheless, many among the wealthiest families are as rich in melanin as they are in capital gains. The ethnic and racial pyramids which recent scholars continue to draw to depict Jamaican society are no longer nearly as fine and distinct as their diagrams would lead us to believe (e.g. Beckford and Witter, 1981: 79). Of all the barriers to capital accumulation or successful economic management, skin color is not one of them.

General Characteristics of Peasant Agriculture in The Watershed

The land which the watershed peasants farm is usually rocky and steep. A broad deep valley, the Yankee Valley, runs from the northwest corner of the watershed, beginning in Trelawney, to the eastern boundary near Alston in the parish of Clarendon. Numerous smaller valleys run perpendicular to this and, as in so many other peasant areas of the world, encompass a wide variety of ecozones and soil types in a relatively short distance. People far more knowledgeable about these ecological phenomena than I have described the area as follows:

> Topography: Rolling ridges with long steep or moderately steep slopes. Soils: Halifax Donnington and Wait-A-Bit clays, are derived from conglomerates, tuffs and shales. These soils are extremely erodible and low in nutrients, but they are easily cultivated. The soils are generally very badly eroded, but the harm is reduced by the rapid breakdown of the soil. Climate: generally cool and moist by tropical standards. Average annual rainfall is about 70"; December to March (inclusive) is usually dry; during the rest of the year there is normally sufficient rain for crop growth. Winter night temperatures are quite low and control growth. Altitude: 2000'-3000'. (Edwards, 1961: 51)

The variety of ecozones allows peasants in the watershed to grow a wide variety of crops and affects to some extent, along with socioeconomic factors, patterns of land use and forms of land tenure. Root crops such as yams, coco and dasheen are grown on virtually all of the farms. There are a number of variety of yam and for many households they are the most important crop. Other crops include banana, coffee, Irish potato, red peas, plantain, bread fruit, sorrel, sweet potato, chocolate, ginger, corn, carrot, lettuce, cabbage, tomato, peanuts, chocho, cassava, pumpkin, avocado pears, jack fruit, oranges, sour sop, pine trees and marijuana (ganja). Monocropping does not fit well with production strategies geared toward providing subsistence for the family as well as growing crops for sale. All fields are intercropped to some extent. Coffee and bananas are nearly always planted together. Other common crop combinations are Irish potato and red peas during the late winter and spring months and red peas and

corn during the summer months, yellow yams and coco throughout the year. It is highly typical, however, for a single field to contain as many as a dozen different crop varieties. From one informant's field I recorded the following: lucea yam, yellow yam, barbados yam, negro yam, red peas and Irish potatoes, carrots sown between the yam hills, bananas, coffee, coco and dasheen along the drainage ditches, sugar cane along another edge of the field, patches here and there of sweet potato, cabbage, tomatoes and lettuce, a few chocolate trees, a bread fruit tree, cassava and ganja interspersed throughout the field. Family gardens are always heavily intercropped; fields planted primarily in cash crops usually are as well.

Among the crops grown primarily for sale are Irish potatoes, red peas, banana, coffee, carrot, lettuce, cabbage, tomato, chocolate and peanuts. Marijuana and yams are produced for home use and for sale, depending on the market, and the others listed above tend to be grown primarily for home use. Which crops are grown for sale primarily and which for home use varies from parish to parish, however, and these generalizations concerning cash crops and subsistence crops apply to the Two Meetings Watershed. With the exception of donkeys and mules, most livestock in the area are raised for the market, pigs, cows and goats being the most common. These double as savings accounts in Jamaica as elsewhere among peasants (Firth, 1963; Wolf, 1966). Donkeys and mules are valuable tools on

the farm and tend to be used as such rather than bought for resale.

In terms of the factors within the Two Meetings socioeconomic environment which influence agricultural production decisions and behaviors, access to land and land tenure is not nearly so determining a factor as are household cash flows, credit, labor, and markets. There are a few families in the area who own a great deal of land in the watershed but who are not among the peasantry. These families constitute a kind of old landed gentry who have since fallen from the grace of world economics and politics. Much of the land which they used to work has been taken over by the peasants. The peasants recognize that the land is owned by others, some claim to pay rent on the land, but no rents have been collected for a number of years on this land and the peasants are more or less free to work it without threat of eviction. They also tend not to make any improvements on land gained by these means, however (cf. Blustain, 1982b). In addition to "capturing" land, other means of gaining access to land include inheritance (family land), buying land, leasing government land, renting land (primarily from other peasants), clearing land and working it for a few years rent-free in return for clearing it, working the land of relatives who have moved from the watershed, and in some cases simply being given land by another peasant. Sharecropping,

although used in some cases among extremely poor peasants, is uncommon, as is service tenure. At any rate, a peasant household in the watershed with enough family labor or enough cash to hire labor can usually find one means or another to gain access to land. Land quality does directly affect, along with market fluctuations, the scheduling of planting and the choice of crops. If a peasant can get access to land which holds water well, for example, he or she is more likely to plant an earlier crop of Irish potatoes than another peasant who cannot gain access to such land.

Farms in the watershed are highly fragmented, with peasants producing on anywhere from one to six or seven parcels. Total farm sizes are around three to five acres, two to three of which are cultivated and the remainder lying fallow. The most typical tenurial arrangement in the watershed is to own around one-quarter acre to one-half acre which serves as the house plot and the family garden, and to own or rent other parcels at varying distances from the house, sometimes as far as four miles across some pretty rugged country. This has been the pattern among Jamaican peasants all over the island at least since the turn of the century (cf. Beckwith, 1929; Eisner, 1961; Clarke, 1957; Edwards, 1961). Having fragmented landholdings sometimes results in crop loss due to theft and an increase in demands on the household's time, but

also allows peasants access to a variety of land qualities and hence a wider variety of cropping and scheduling decisions.

To work land productively the peasants must first have some cash. Peasant households in the Two Meetings Watershed are chronically short of cash. Sources of credit include the IRDP (now defunct), the People's Loan Bank and other area banks, relatives, friends and, very occasionally, visiting Peace Corps volunteers and anthropologists. The banks, as is normal practice, have interest rates which are considered too high by the peasantry. Loans from banks are more often sought for capital purchases, such as buying a mule or land, than to cover the costs of planting. Long-term credit or revolving credit systems such as those utilized by farmers in the U.S. (Hansen, et al., 1981), if they exist in rural Jamaica, are not available to the peasantry. Loans from the IRDP are (or were) used with more frequency but these are often rejected because such loans often require peasants to adopt production strategies with which they do not agree. This disagreement comes less from a love of tradition than from a detailed scrutiny and knowledge of the ecosystem and socioeconomic environment. As a result, most peasant households in the watershed cover their planting expenses with cash generated by previous

harvests, as well as by using cash-saving strategies such as cooperative labor.

Peasants in the watershed, like most peasants, use almost no heavy machinery. The IRDP used to sometimes terrace fields for them or clear land with tractors, and a very few peasants have hired tractor rigs on their own (I found only one case of this), but the use of heavy machinery is extremely rare. Nor are draught animals used to plow land, although mules and donkeys are used to transport produce from the fields to the roads or into market. This leaves human energy for the farm work, and labor is the most costly -- in terms of both money and time -- of all the productive resources available to the peasant farmer. Hiring labor is the preferred labor arrangement among the watershed's peasants, but because household cash flows are small most peasants in the watershed combine the use of family labor and exchange labor (day-for-day) with hired labor. Cooperative work bees, or "morning sport," are not common in the watershed, although are used in other parts of the country (Edwards, 1961). Even with these cooperative labor arrangements, however, there is some expense involved: the peasant who needs the workers must provide them with food during the day and often with rum and ganja as well, whether they are exchange labor or hired. At noon in the fields, over open fires, green bananas, dumplings, yams and chicken backs seasoned with

pepper boil in huge pots. Drinks using chocolate or ginger root or sarsaparilla root are usually provided for the laborers as well, sweetened with Eagle Brand sweetened condensed milk.

The specific combination of labor arrangements varies from farm to farm according to farm size, household size and composition, crop types, market fluctuations, cash generated from off-farm sources and seasonal schedules. Some larger farms have high labor requirements throughout the year. However, the peak seasons for labor in the watershed tend to be from January to late April, when the rains begin, and again in September, November and early December, scheduling activities around the heavy October rains. During the summer months the crop labor requirements are somewhat reduced and it is typically during these months that the peasants seek off-farm employment as well as devote time to house construction, repair and so on. The tasks which require the most labor inputs are clearing land, terracing, planting and harvesting, but processing food for market and marketing also take up a good portion of the time of some peasant households, especially when cash crops are being grown on a wide scale. Weeding and other general crop care are done throughout the year but can usually be handled with family labor or exchange labor alone. Livestock and tree-crops are low-labor enterprises. There are, of course, a wide

variety of other farm and non-farm tasks which draw upon the peasant's time (hauling water and firewood, cutting yam sticks, child care, maintenance) and, although labor requirements are seasonal, these people are rarely idle (cf. Brush, 1977). Although there are some flexible ideas about division of labor on the basis of sex, in actual behavior women and men perform many of the same tasks and women are equally as skilled at farm management as men. The importance of these labor arrangements and labor requirements as they are affected by participation in the alien labor program will be discussed in more depth later.

The principal marketing options in the area include the Agricultural Marketing Corporation (AMC), the Christiana Area Potato Growers' Cooperative, a few banana boxing plants and ginger merchants, peasants carrying their own goods to peasant markets and, the most commonly used option, higglers. Higglers, usually women, are professional itinerant buyers and sellers of produce who come from peasant backgrounds and take advantage of regional variations in crop types, generally buying produce from peasants whom they are familiar with and bussing this produce to peasant markets in other parishes for sale (cf. Mintz, 1957; Katzin, 1959, 1971). Higglering, however, is an occupation open to nearly anyone and for many peasants throughout Jamaica it is a valuable and time-honored means of supplementing farm income, as well as occasionally a

means to accumulate capital for agricultural and non-agricultural investments. It is a highly competitive and efficient means of getting perishable produce from producer to consumer, but it is not without its problems. Perhaps one of the most blatant contradictions between the rhetoric of the Seaga regime and their actual behavior is that they have recently initiated legislation aimed at "savaging the higgler" (Stone, 1983), or curtailing the previous free enterprise of higglers through complex licensing requirements and taxes (Daily Gleaner, February 7, 1983: front page). Under Manley, supposedly an engineer of "a disastrous decade of socialism" (Hempstone, 1982), the freedom allowed the higglers to move the country's produce around as well as to import goods was far greater.

With the higglers in the watershed the peasants maintain a love/hate relationship. On the one hand, the higglers often constitute the sole marketing outlet for the peasants' produce. Also, unlike most of the other marketing options, the higglers are numerous enough that competition between higglers assures the peasant the highest possible price for the produce. When the higglers pay for the peasants' produce outright and bear the cost of any loss due to spoilage themselves, there are usually no problems between peasant and higgler. However, more often the higgler does not have the cash up front to pay for the crop and so the peasant must give the crop to the higgler

and wait until after the sale to receive his or her money. This places a peasant producer in a position dependent upon the honesty of the higgler. These higglers are usually personal acquaintances of the peasants, people from within the same district or same general area. To maintain this delayed payment relationship, the higgler must return from the market with some remuneration for the peasant on a more or less regular basis. Nevertheless the higgler can return with less money than the peasant bargained for and blame the discrepancy on spoilage. The higglers do not have to return proof that the crop actually spoiled. The peasant producers thus must take the word of the higgler that their products or portions of their products did not sell. Jamaican peasants, as envious and suspicious of their fellow peasants as peasants elsewhere (Foster, 1969; O. Lewis, 1951; Migdal, 1974; Popkin, 1979), have a low threshhold of faith in their peasant brethren. They do not enjoy being put in a postion where their income depends on the honesty of another. George Foster's "Image of the Limited Good" (1969) is perhaps the best known description of these characteristics of mistrust and envy among peasants, although it has since been criticized as somewhat of a misinterpretation. That is, Foster saw the envy and mistrust among peasants as being an expression of cognitive orientation or belief that the goods of the world are limited. Thus one person's gain is another person's loss.

Others understand this envy and mistrust as expressions not of some natural cognitive orientation but rather expressions of a recognition that the goods of the world are, in actual fact and not in "image," limited. That is, Jamaican peasants understand that they have historically been denied access to land and other resources which place them in direct economic competition with one another. When one Jamaican peasant receives a job card it is quite clear that another Jamaican peasant loses out. In terms of their relationships with higglers, then, Jamaican peasants often have to place themselves in these socially uncomfortable positions. But this is nothing new to people for whom hardship has been, for centuries, a way of life. Richard Barnet reminds us: "If there is one observation about the contemporary world which unites Marxists and non-Marxists, it is that peasants are the world's most exploited peoples" (1981: 103).

Summary

The above discussion constitutes a general description of peasant life and peasant agriculture in the Two Meetings Watershed. The physical, social, and economic conditions described are common to the entire peasant population of the watershed. They represent the environment from which migrants to the U.S. are drawn for the BWI Temporary Alien

Labor Program and to which these migrants return. The following chapter presents the results of the comparisons between a randomly selected population of participants in the BWI program and a randomly selected population of peasants who have not had equivalent migration experiences. Both populations were selected from the environment described above.

CHAPTER IV
THE IMPACT OF SEASONAL INTERNATIONAL LABOR MIGRATION ON PEASANT AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

Of the five sending countries, Jamaica supplies around 80% of the foreign labor which fuels the South Florida sugar cane harvest and 100% of the foreign labor utilized in the Northeast apple harvest. According to the Jamaican Ministry of Labour and Employment's most recent estimate, between six and seven thousand Jamaican men annually work in the apple and sugar harvest (Jamaican Department of Statistics, 1982a: 25). Data from three sample populations indicate that the mean annual net earnings per man are a little over US$3000.

Table 4-1
Mean Annual Net Earnings From Farm Work, Three Sample populations

Population	Mean net earnings
South Florida sample of 206	US$3141
U.S. Northeast and South Florida sample of 21	US$3418
Jamaican sample of 45	US$3149

By a conservative estimate of US$3000/season/man, the total Jamaican farm worker population annually nets around twenty million US dollars. Twenty-three percent of this amount is sent back to the island under a compulsory savings program, generating between four and five million dollars in foreign exchange for the Government of Jamaica annually. This is as much as between 11% and 14% of the estimated US$35,000,000 generated annually by the Jamaican tourist industry and as much as between 4% and 5% of the estimated US$92,000,000 generated by the bauxite industry (Jamaican Department of Statistics, 1982a: 190).

While the benefit of the program as a foreign exchange earner on national level Jamaican society and economy is obvious, it is not readily apparent how the program affects the Jamaican peasantry on the individual, household, local, regional or national levels. We do know, however, that the combined net earnings of the farm workers who travel to the U.S. equals nearly one quarter (24%) of the gross domestic product earned by the entire Jamaican peasantry (Jamaican Department of Statistics, 1982a: 188). We also know that the incomes of the individual farm workers are substantially higher that the incomes generated by most Jamaican peasant farms. Exactly how much higher is difficult to determine, however. Although the 1980 per capita income in Jamaica was US$1040 (The World Bank, 1982), information on the Jamaican peasantry as opposed to

the entire Jamaican population suggests that the annual earnings of Jamaican peasant households fall far below this per capita income figure and much further below the net incomes of farm workers. The most comprehensive study of Jamaican farmers, conducted by D.H. Edwards in the late 1950s, reported an average annual net farm income of just under US$25 (Edwards, 1961: 184). More recent studies by USAID personnel estimate that "80 percent of farm families earn per capita incomes of less than US$200 per year" (Goldsmith and Blustain, 1980: 3). Although income information, especially that relying on verbal responses, is among the most difficult to verify, it is nevertheless clear that the farm workers' incomes are at least three times as much as most peasant farms. It is therefore conceivable that their farms might well benefit by this income and give their households a distinct agricultural production advantage over peasants who have not had similar employment experiences.

From the setting described in the previous chapter I drew random samples to compare migrant farm workers' households with other peasant households who had not had similar migration experiences (the control population). Throughout this work the term farm workers refers to participants in the BWI Temporary Alien Labor Program, which is the term the Jamaicans use to describe these migrants. The term control peasants refers to the

population of peasants who have not participated in the program nor have had equivalent migration experiences. The comparisons between the two populations were designed to address the following questions: Were the farm workers operating more productive farms than the control peasant population? Did the farm workers have a higher incidence of investment for farm expansion that the control population? Were the farm workers producing proportionately more cash crops than the control population? Finally, were these differences between the two populations caused by participation in the alien labor program? These questions attempt to get at a larger question: Does international labor migration between lesser developed and developed countries cause or enhance developement in the lesser developed country?

Results of the Comparisons

To begin answering these questions it is best to focus on specific examples of agricultural production and investment in the Two Meetings Watershed. The area's most lucrative legal cash crop is Irish potato, produced on 61% of the farms. I mentioned above that most peasant households in the watershed control between three and five acres of land but usually cultivate only two to three of those acres. Also, land is available by means of a variety

of arrangements and in most cases only additional cash and labor inputs are required to expand production by bringing more land under cultivation. Since labor for hire is plentiful in rural Jamaica, coming up with the cash is the constraint on expanding agricultural production. The total cost of hired labor, seed, fertilizers, pesticides and transportation necessary to plant, care for and reap a single acre (14 CWT) of Irish potatoes amounts to J$1560 (US$880)(n) (see appendix A). By 1982/83 wage and piece rates, a farm worker in the U.S. can easily earn this amount in four to six weeks. With a yield of five to one, remaining 14 CWT of seed for the following crop and marketing the remaining 5600 lbs. at J$35/CWT, this acre of Irish potatoes would gross J$1960, or a net profit of J$400. This amounts to a 25% return per acre on the original investment over a period of three to four months. In the watershed it is possible to plant three crops of Irish potato per year.

On the surface this appears to be a sound investment. In practice, some of the labor necessary to plant, care for, and harvest the crop will be drawn from the family at no cost and probably some of the labor will be exchanged, thus bringing the overhead costs down substantially and increasing the profit margin. It is therefore quite possible that returns per acre will be higher than 25%. In spite of the apparently sound economics of expanding Irish

potato production, the households of the farm workers who work in the U.S. do not invest in Irish potato production on a broader scale than control peasant households. Table I shows that, in fact, the reverse is the case.

Table 4-2
Comparisons Between Farm Worker and Control Peasant Households For Irish Potato Production

	Farm Worker		Control
Percent planting potatoes	69		57
CWTs planted per household per year	5.2	p=.01	10.6
Average pounds of potatoes sold to potato cooperative annually (1967 - 1981)	1490	p=.228	1835
Average shares held in potato cooperative	9.88	p=.25	13.48

(T-test, one tailed)

What does this tell us about the impact of the alien labor program on Irish potato production in the Two Meetings watershed? First, in terms of this admittedly restricted example, the prediction that return migrants will invest in their home economies is not confirmed. Indeed, it appears that participation in the program has

had a negative impact on Irish potato production in the watershed. Nevertheless we cannot readily jump to the conclusion that these production differences between farm workers' peasant households and the control peasant households are caused directly by participation in the alien labor program. Even though the two populations were randomly selected and are representative of the Two Meetings peasant household population, there may be alternate explanations as to why the farm workers' households produce and sell fewer CWTs of Irish potato than peasant households which do not have access to these U.S. funds. However, as the following tables show, comparisons between the two populations in terms of variables which might suggest sampling biases which could account for agricultural production differences reveal no significant differences.

Table 4-3
Size and Composition of Households

Variables	Farm Worker	Control
Average age of male household head	38	42
	p=.08	
Average age of female household head	31	36
	p=.095	
Average size of household	7.3	6.8
	p=.24	

Table 4-3 -- continued

Average number of males	4.3	3.4
Average number of females	3.0	3.4
Average number of adults (15 + years)	2.8	3.9
Average number of children (0-14 years)	4.4	3.0
Average number of people aged:		
60+	.09	.5
50-59	.2	.3
40-49	.5	.4
30-39	1.0	1.2
20-29	.5	.8
10-19	1.7	1.1
0-9	3.2	2.3

Table 4-4
Ratio of Consumers to Workers Per Household

	Farm Worker	Control
Consumer: Worker Ratio	2.1:1	1.9:1

Note: workers are all able bodied people over the age of 11 who contribute to agricultural production.

Table 4-5
Relationships With Other Peasant Households Through Outside Children

	Farm Workers	Control
Average number of outside children of male household head	1.2	.8
Percent of males with outside children who are responsible for outside children	93.7	94.4
Mode number of households related to by outside children	1	1

Moreover, careful reconstruction of the histories of farm workers' households demonstrate that in most cases the initial years of participation in the program coincide with decreases in potato production and sales. In cases where there was a break in travel to the U.S. of a year or two, the farm workers' households' Irish potato production increased during the years he spent in Jamaica, only to decrease again once he resumed travel to the United States. Irish potato increases subsequent to travel, however, do not ususally represent substantial increases from the years prior to participation, but instead a resumption of previous production levels.

The most obvious explanation for decreases in Irish potato production during the years the farm workers are abroad is that their absence from Jamaica for a substantial portion of the year prevents them from taking advantage of this investment opportunity. This explanation however ignores the fact that peasant farming, in Jamaica and elsewhere, is a household rather than an individual economic activity. That is, women in the Jamaican countryside are as capable and as willing as men to engineer the land preparation, planting, weeding and so on associated with Irish potato production. The following tables show that women are in most cases responsible for the farm while the farm workers are abroad and that they tend to use remittances to hire farm labor.

Table 4-6
Principal Manager of Farm During Farm Worker's absence
(n=45)

Relationship to farm worker	Percent of population
Wife/girlfriend	74.3
Brother	8.6
Father/father-in-law	5.7
Son	2.9
Other relative	2.9
Friend	2.9
Hired hand	2.9

Table 4-7
Percent of Population who Use Remittances to Hire Farm Labor (n=45)

Hire	73.5
Do not hire	26.5

There are constraints upon a woman's time which arise at particular stages in her life cycle, during which hild care demands much of her attention. In Jamaica however two factors undermine explanation of decreased agricultural production: first, the salient phenomenon of overlapping households means that cost-free child care services are in abundant supply; second, as the above table shows, there is a tendency for the wives and girlfriends of the farm workers to use remitted U.S. earnings to hire laborers to work on the farm, thus boosting these women to managerial positions in the fields and allowing them time and free breasts to feed and arms to care for the children while monitoring the laborers' activities. Also, male household members or male friends and relatives of the farm workers often help the women in these endeavors in cases where sexual antagonism undermines the woman's control over male farm labor. We cannot, therefore, attribute these lower production levels to the absence of the men.

This negative impact of the program is not typical, however. More often, comparisons between the farm workers'

households and the control peasants households reveal that the impact of the program as a whole on Jamaican agriculture is neutral. That is, as the following tables show, few significant differences emerge from comparing the two populations on the basis of a wide variety of agricultural variables.

First, in terms of land utilization, land tenure and land fragmentation, the only differences that emerge are the the farm workers' households utilize a greater proportion of their land than the other households, and that the proportions of rented land and owned land are nearly reversed between the two populations. (Probability levels refer, again, to one tailed Student's T-tests.)

Table 4-8
Land Utilization, Land Tenure, and Land Fragmentation

Variables	Farm Workers		Control
Average amount of land rented and owned (acres)	3.05	p=.15	3.76
Average amount of land cultivated (acres)	2.26	p=.17	2.64
Percentage of land lying fallow	17.5	p=.034	29.5
Average number of parcels cultivated	2.3		2.3

Table 4-8 -- continued

Average percent of land owned	37	58
Average percent of land rented	53	35
Terms of tenure (%)		
rent and own	34.1	17.3
own all	2.4	6.2
rent all	34.1	23.5
captured land	2.4	3.7
relative's land	7.3	17.3
relative's land and rent and own	12.2	28.4
other	7.3	3.7

These differences between the two populations, however, do not result in different amounts of land actually cultivated. Nor do they result in radically different production strategies. That is, the following tables show that for the production of crops for market and livestock holdings there exist, again, few differences between the two populations.

Table 4-9
Crops Production for Market

Variables	Farm Workers	Control
Average number of hills of yam	726	521
	p=.11	
Average number of square chains of coffeee	8.8	16.9
	p=.243	
Percent planting red peas	73	58

Table 4-9 -- continued

Average number of quarts of red peas planted per year	19	23
Percent planting bananas	46	46
Average number of squares of banana	9.6	11
Percent planting:		
ginger	32.5	31.7
corn	14	13.6
casava	4.7	6.1
sweet potato	4.8	8.6
lettuce/cabbage	9.3	7.3
carrots	4.7	2.4

Table 4-10
Livestock Holdings Per Household

Varieties	Farm Workers	Control
Average number of cows	.7	.9
Average number of pigs	.6	.7
Average number of goats	.6	.6
Average number of donkeys/mules	.3	.2

Finally, in terms of farm management, the following tables again attest to the striking similarity between the two populations. Differences do emerge, especially in terms of labor hiring practices, and these will be discussed in a subsequent chapter. However, here it is

important to note that whatever differences do exist between the two populations in terms of farm management, these have not resulted in the farm workers households managing significantly larger or more productive farms.

Table 4-11
Complexity of Farm
(index including number of markets utilized, number of types of marketed crops, and number of types of livestock)

Farm Worker	Control
8.5	8.2

Table 4-12
Market Utilization

Market	Farm Worker	Control
Percent using AMC	49	60
Percent using potato cooperative	57	52
Percent using higglers	88	90

Table 4-13
Means of Transportation to Market

Means of Transport	Percent of Farm Worker population	Percent of Control population
Own vehicle	8.3	4.2
Hire vehicle	52.8	59.2
Donkey	2.8	2.8
Donkey and hire	33.4	31.0
Donkey and own	2.8	2.8

Table 4-14
Labor Hiring Practices

Practice	Percent of Farm Worker population	Percent of Control population
Exchange only	9.1	12.8
Hire only	43.2	36.0
Both, hire most	9.1	15.1
Both, Exchange most	29.5	22.1
No labor outside of household necessary	9.1	14.0

Table 4-15
Use of Hired Labor: average man-days of hired labor per year, number of weeks per year, and average daily wage paid to hired labor

Variables	Farm Worker	Control
Average number of man-days per year	107	75
	p=.12	
Average number of weeks	26.1	25.8
Average daily wage	J$8.07	J$8.38

Table 4-16
Use of Hired Labor By Type of Task

Task	Percent of Farm Worker population	Percent of Control population
Weeding	0	2.2
Spray	3.7	0
Land preparation and planting	11.1	13.3
Land preparation, planting, reaping	29.6	37.8
Terracing, ditching, other improvements	3.7	0
All except improvements	7.4	2.2
All	44.4	44.4

Table 4-17
Exchange Labor Relations Among Those households Who exchange Labor

Relationship	Percent of Farm Worker population	Percent of Control population
With friends	83.3	90.0
With relatives	5.6	0
Both friends and relatives	5.6	10.0
Others in area	5.6	0

Table 4-18
Sources of Cash for Agricultural Production

Source	Percent of Farm Worker	Percent of Control
With crop or livestock sales	43.9	30
IRDP loan	14.6	21.2
Peoples loan bank	14.6	11.2
Other bank	0	6.3
Used to borrow	0	1.2
Denied loan	14.6	17.5
Job/Business	12.2	12.5

Table 4-19
Percent of Populations Using Fertilizers

	Farm Worker	Control
Use	66	67
Do not use	34	33

These findings lead to the rejection of hypotheses which predict that migrants returning from participation in the BWI Temporary Alien Labor Program will invest their U.S. earnings in their primary economic activities. The following discussion explains why these hypotheses have not been confirmed.

The Importance of the Growth of the Peasant Household

Peasant economic activity is not individual economic activity. The biological growth of the household within the historical and structural position of the peasantry in relation to the wider society has always directly influenced the evolution of peasant production, whether that production is agricultural or nonagricultural. Explanations as to why these farm workers do not use their U.S. earnings to fund significant agricultural production increases must therefore begin with a consideration of the natural growth of their households and link this information with the experiences and economic expectations of the farm workers both in the U.S. and at home.

The Life Cycle of The Farm Worker

The nature of the work for which these Jamaicans are hired in the U.S. demands a relatively young group of workers. Picking apples and cutting sugar cane cannot be done as productively by older men as it can be by younger men. With the exception of the relatively few upper level positions within the work force (e.g.,foremen, firemen,

ticket writers), the vast majority of the workers occupy the actual manual labor postions which require stamina and youth. McCoy and Wood demonstrated that the relative level of productivity, as measured by seasonal earnings, constitutes a major criteria for culling workers from the program (McCoy and Wood, 1982). Their data also showed that around 90% of the Jamaican workers fall between the ages of 24 and 46.

Table 4-20
Age of Farm Workers (n=206)

Age	Percent of population
20 - 25	9.2
26 - 30	21.8
31 - 35	20.9
36 - 40	21.8
41 - 45	15
46 - 50	7.3
51 - 55	2.4
56+	.5

According to my sample from the Two Meetings Watershed, the most common ages for males to father children in their life cycles are from 21 to 37 years of age.

Table 4-21
Years Of Fatherhood

Age at birth of first child	Percent of population (n=45)
15 - 19	26.6
20 - 25	51.1
26 - 30	15.5
31 - 35	6.6
Age at birth of last child	**Percent of population (n=19)**
31 - 35	10.5
36 - 40	52.6
41 - 45	15.8
46 - 50	21.1

Note: the sample of 19 includes only those men who are over the age of 39, when years of fathering children coming to a close.

This age range overlaps fourteen years with the common years of participation in the program and this directly influences the expenditure patterns of Jamaican peasants working seasonally in the U.S. That is, from their early years in the program, their households' consumption demands are beginning to increase. During these years a farm worker will likely become responsible for around five to seven children. Most of these children will live with him in his household but, given the common phenomenon of "outside children" (children born by a woman a man

currently does not live with), one or two may very well live elsewhere (see table 4-5). As noted earlier, these outside children, although residentially separate from the farm worker, remain his responsibility both legally and by social sanction. Fulfilling this obligation often involves contributing to the maintenance of both the outside children and their mother as well. In most cases, this leads to the farm worker actually being responsible for the maintenance and reproduction of the household he resides in while he is in Jamaican and partially responsible for the maintenance and reproduction of households containing his outside children. Severing these ties is not impossible nor even very difficult in a legal sense. Nevertheless severing these ties is uncommon (see table 4-5). This phenomenon of overlapping households among the Jamaican peasantry, within and between generations, is an essential ingredient in understanding the impact of the alien labor program on the Jamaican peasantry.

Farm Worker Interaction with the U.S. Host Communities and Consumerism Among the Workers

Because these farm workers tend to participate in the program during the years that their households are growing, substantial portions of the workers' U.S. earnings never leave the U.S. but are instead converted into consumer goods in the shops and department stores of the communities where these Jamaicans work. Reubens cites the high degree

of consumerism among the work force as a counterargument to "the widespread notion that most of these earnings are remitted abroad and the simplistic fear that the U.S. economy is thereby impoverished" (1979: 21). Virtually all of the farm workers spend some of their U.S. earnings on clothes and shoes. In addition to this, the farm workers need to spend some of their earnings to purchase supplementary food for immediate consumption in the U.S. because the labor camp food is considered inadequate by the workers. Secondary purchases include small appliances, watches and other jewelry and occasionally larger appliances such as refrigerators, freezers, motorcycles.

Table 4-22
Farm Worker Consumer Behavior In the United States (n=54)

Goods	Percent making purchase
Clothes/shoes	100
Radio/tape player	87
Watches/jewelry	37
Television	29.6
Stereo	27.7
Motorcycle	5.5
Freezer/refrigerator	3.7

The consumerism of the workers is the most visible of all their expenditure behavior. During the sugar cane harvest, Belle Glade, Florida, the major shopping center

for most of the workers, becomes a crowded bustling commercial core which caters to West Indian needs and tastes. The Cuban markets stock yams and Jamaican pastries. Kentucky Fried Chicken offers a Jamaican special and does a land office business. The Winn Dixie and other supermarkets lay in huge supplies of pepper sauce, canned goods, soap and other goods purchased in great quantities by West Indians. Strings of shops owned by Palestinians downtown stock clothes, shoes, radios, tape decks, stereos, speakers, small and large appliances. Few items are priced. Chicago's Maxwell Street dealing or open marketplace haggling characterizes the conduct of business. These merchants roughly estimate that 80 to 100% of their business comes from the cane harvesting labor force. Signs on their store's windows boast that they can easily ship to Jamaica any item in the store.

During the harvest the whole town comes alive in the manner of a resort area during the peak of the tourist season. From October's end to March's, nearly every evening by around four or five p.m., the streets of downtown Belle Glade begin to fill with West Indians with money in their pockets. They drift in and out of stores and restaurants exchanging buying experiences and swigs of liquor and beer, shopping, checking out prices, comparing product qualities, planning future expenditures, wheeling carts through the supermarkets. Discreet drug transactions

occur here and there. Patois dominates the linguistic scene. Even the most casual observer can tell you that the West Indians have not come to town to window shop. Almost none leave the downtown without making at least some small purchase: jeans, a t-shirt, a chicken sandwich. Between seven and eight o'clock the cane cutters gather in small groups of three or four or stand by themselves on corners, their crates, boxes, and sacks resting at their feet, waiting for transportation back to the camps. Taxis and minibuses cruise through the downtown with the same flexible scheduling of the Jamaican minibus system, the drivers yelling the names of labor camps and the passengers flagging them down, stuffing boxes and sacks under the seats or into the trucks and piling in. In the first early hours of darkness at the labor camps, these vans and taxis unload and the men return to their barracks where, beside their bunk beds in lockers, they lock up their goods. By nine o'clock the cultural complexion of downtown Belle Glade returns to Floridian occupation.

The communities of the U.S. Northeast which host the Jamaicans are less dependent on their consumerism than the merchants of downtown Belle Glade, but the workers there go on similar buying sprees. By Jamaican standards the products they buy are reasonably priced. A pair of tennis shoes which would cost around thirty to forty U.S. dollars in Jamaica costs between nine and twelve at K-Mart. Tape

decks usually sell for as much as seven times in Jamaica what they sell for in New York or Boston. Designer jeans and t-shirts cost around half as much in the U.S. as in the Islands. Watches, jewelry, televisions, motorcycles, refrigerators -- virtually anything in the "durables" category in the U.S. costs less than it does in Jamaica, especially after fluctuating currency exchange rates beat down the buying power of the Jamaican dollar. Coming across bargains like these at a time when they have steady incomes from farm work and also have the needs of a growing household back home to think about, it is no wonder that these men spend between 30% and 40% of their total gross seasonal earnings on U.S. goods. From their net earnings, after deductions for board and insurance, the proportion spent on U.S. goods is even higher, between 40% and 50%. In conjunction with board deductions, an average of one half (51%) of the worker's total seasonal earnings never leaves the United States in cash form.

Table 4-23
Categories of Expenditure: mean percent of gross earnings (n=21)

Category	Percent of gross earnings
Consumer goods in U.S.	38
Goods to carry home	32
Supplementary food	6
Compulsory savings	23
Remittances/ cash carried home	24

Table 4-23 -- continued

Board deduction	13
Insurance deduction	2

Table 4-24
Mean Percent of Net Earnings Spent On U.S. Goods (n=21)

Consumer goods	45
Goods to carry home	39
Supplementary food	6.3

The earnings which remain in the U.S. thus have little chance to contribute to Jamaican economic development. In light of these spending behaviors, moreover, it is no wonder that Jamaican peasants, witnessing the return of the farm workers with suitcases full of clothes and other goods, their girlfriends, wives and children dressed in fine clothes for Easter services, conceive of the United States as a land not only of opportunity but of "many pretty things." The farm workers' material testament to this further nourishes the desire among these peasants to participate in the alien labor program (cf. Magnarella, 1979).

This U.S.-West Indian interaction in the context of buying and selling, however, does little to increase the experience of the West Indians in ways which could have economically beneficial repurcussions in the Caribbean countryside. I mention this here because many scholars imply or explicitly state that informational exchanges in

contexts such as international labor migration serve to broaden experiences, expose people to new and "progressive" ideas and perspectives, and ideologically pave the way for capitalist economic development (Rogers, 1972; Spengler and Myers, 1977; Smelser, 1968; Bauer, 1972). However, West Indians participating in the program tend not to interact with U.S. citizens beyond the work situation or in the context of consuming U.S. goods.

This lack of interaction with U.S. citizens is due primarily to the physical isolation of the labor camps. Tri-County Fruit Growers' labor camp, in Martinsburg, West Virginia, is located around five minutes outside the community's residential edge among pastures and woods, invisible to the Martinsburg residents from their homes. In Winchester, Virginia, near the railroad tracks and a large industrial complex of packaging sheds and warehouses, another labor camp housing around nine hundred men sits back from the road, largely hidden from view. The Okeelanta sugar camp outside of South Bay, Florida, is a huge combination factory where the raw cane is processed and living quarters for upwards of two thousand men. Guards are posted at the entrance. Nearly all of the South Florida labor camps are surrounded by cane fields. These factories-in-the-field scar the horizon ominously, separate from the nearby towns of South Bay, Pahokee, Belle Glade, Clewiston and Moorhaven. Linguistically and culturally

these labor camps resemble Jamaica far more than the U.S. They bring to mind discussions of "total institutions" use to describe slave plantations, fuedal haciendas and prisons.

They are not however generally squalid. Although crowded, conditions are by and large clean and minimally accommodating. The men have lockers and beds and bathroom facilities such as those characterizing living conditions in the armed forces' boot camps. Electrical outlets provide energy to their newly purchased tape players and televisions. Some of the smaller labor camps, such as Woodmont Orchards' in Londonberry, New Hampshire, consist of reconditioned old houses with small upstairs bedrooms like the fraternity houses of small college campuses. Even these smaller camps, far less imposing than the larger sugar and apple camps, are no less socially isolated.

The physical and social isolation of the workers thus militates against any sustained communication which could aid in investment and other economically beneficial activity in the Islands. The sugar companies offer classes leading to a high school diploma to the workers but attendance is poor. In the actual work situation the workers learn nothing they do not already know that could conceivably be put to productive use on their own farms in Jamaica. To cut sugar cane or pick apples requires stamina and strength but no highly specialized skill. There is

nothing to suggest that their experiences in the U.S. offer them anything besides their wages which could be economically beneficial to them in their home countries.

Primary Uses of U.S. Earnings In Jamaica

With the remittances and the cash which does make it back to the island, however, they can attempt to improve their standards of living and, possibly, to contribute to the development of Jamaican society in the process. Here again the consumption demands of the farm workers' households receive priority for the use of these funds. These consumption demands include not only clothing, footwear, and entertainment, but the satisfaction of a larger consumption demand as well: the purchase of a house and garden plot and the construction of a house. As the following tables indicate, over half (61%) of the farm workers designate house construction as their first or second use of the funds which make it back to the island and 50% utilize the money in their compulsory savings accounts primarily for house construction or expansion.

Table 4-25
Uses of U.S. Earnings in Jamaica (n=45)

Use	1st use	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
House construction	48.3	13	11.1	10	28.6
Farming, crops	25	47.8	44.4	50	14.3
Farming, livestock	3.4	21.7	16.7	0	42.8
Land purchase	10.3	8.7	16.7	20	0
Meet household expenses	10.3	8.7	11.1	20	14.3

Table 4-26
Uses of Compulsory Savings in Jamaica (n=45)

Use	1st use	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
House construction	28.6	21.4	0	8.3	40
Farming, crops	39.3	39.2	56.2	33.2	0
Farming, crops	14.3	25	25	16.6	0
Land purchase	7.1	3.6	12.5	8.3	20
Meet household expenses	10.7	10.7	6.2	25	40

Table 4-27
Proportion of U.S. Earnings which Reach Jamaica Spent on Primary Categories of Expenditure

Expenditure	Percent of earnings
House construction	23.3
Farming, crops	14.2
Farming, livestock	8.3
Land purchase	16.6
Household expenses	36.6

The use of money from migration for the purchase of real estate is extremely common among returning migrants all over the world (Magnarella, 1979; Brandes, 1975; Dinerman, 1978, 1981; Reichert, 1982; King and Stratchen, 1980; Hill, 1977).

As noted in the last chapter, the construction and expansion of housing tends not to be a single year project. Most commonly, farm workers will lay the initial groundwork for house construction during the first year of participation in the alien labor program, and then add to the house in subsequent years. Building or adding a single room costs around J$100/square foot or between J$1000 and J$1400. How many years U.S. funds, and what portion of those funds, are spent on house construction depends on family size as well as personal tastes and preferences. It is noteworthy that the ownership of a house which approximates the Jamaican ideal -- bedrooms, living room, kitchen, bath and veranda -- is closely associated with the

achievement of the Jamaican ideal of independence. This visible expression of wealth and idependence is also highly prestigious in the Jamaican countryside. Achieving such elaborate housing conditions and the perceived feelings of independence, pride and prestige this confers can take a number of years. The data from Jamaica indicate that at least some portion of the U.S. earnings (between 18 and 26%) is used for house construction and expansion during the first five years of participation in the program (see table 4-28).

After these primary areas of expenditure -- U.S. goods, maintenance expenses while working in the U.S., and house construction -- have eaten into the U.S. earnings, how much does the average farm worker have left over for possible investment purposes? Based again on average figures for the total farm working sample, out of around US$3000 in net seasonal earnings, after insurance and board deductions, 38% or $1140 will be spent on U.S. goods and around 23% or $700 will be spent on house construction, leaving 39% or $1170 for other expenditures. What are these other expenditures? Around half of this $1170, between $500 and $700, they send back to their wives, girlfriends, mothers and others during their stay in the U.S., leaving another around $400 to $600 per year (see tables 4-22 -4-26). Before specifically addressing the uses to which recipients of remittances put their U.S.

Table 4-28
Changes in Expenditures of U.S. Earnings in Jamaica Over Time

Number of years in program	Number who have worked x n of years in program		House construction		Keep farm and household stable		Expand farming		Nonagricultural economic activities	
	number	percent of total	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
1	54	100	91	91	100	100	0	0	0	0
2	41	76	90.2	68.5	100	75.9	0	0	0	0
3	37	68.5	81.1	55.5	91.9	62.9	0	0	0	0
4	32	59.3	62.5	37	62.5	37	25	14.8	0	0
5	26	48.1	46.1	22.2	53.8	25.9	34.6	16.6	23.1	11.1
6	19	35.2	36.8	13	15.8	5.5	19	7.4	15.8	5.5
7	12	22.2	16.6	3.7	8.3	1.8	8.3	1.8	8.3	1.8
8	10	18.5	20	3.7	10	1.8	10	1.8	10	1.8
9	8	14.8	12.5	1.8	12.5	1.8	12.5	1.8	12.5	1.8
10	6	11.1	16.6	1.8	16.6	1.8	16.6	1.8	0	0
11	6	11.1	16.6	1.8	16.6	1.8	16.6	1.8	16.6	1.8
12	5	9.2	20	1.8	20	1.8	20	1.8	20	1.8
13	5	9.2	20	1.8	20	1.8	20	1.8	20	1.8
14	5	9.2	20	1.8	20	0	20	1.8	20	1.8
15	5	9.2	20	1.8	0	0	20	1.8	20	1.8
16	4	7.4	25	1.8	0	0	25	1.8	20	1.8
17	4	7.4	25	1.8	0	0	25	1.8	0	0

A = Percent of farm worker population who have worked x number of years in program.
B = Percent of total population.

Note: some double counting occurs due to farm workers spending U.S. earnings on categories for more than one year and due to farm workers diversifying into two or more areas or expenditure.

funds, I will only mention here that substantial portions of these remittances do in fact ultimately help finance agricultural production. In light of this and the previous discussion concerning comparisons between the farm worker and control peasant households in terms of agricultural production, we must again address the question posed previously: With somewhere around J$2400 above consumption expenditures annually coming into the peasant household from farm work in the U.S., why is this money not being used to significantly expand agricultural production and economically differentiate farm worker households from control peasant households?

Although most of the farm workers' U.S. earnings are spent on the satisfaction of household consumption demands, there still remain sufficient funds to subsidize some farm expansion. (Keep in mind, too, that all these figures represent means, and that farm workers with more expereince in the U.S. will be netting more income.) Nonetheless, farm workers are not utilizing their overseas earnings to subsidize agricultural development. They do use their overseas earnings to finance agricultural production, as the above tables indicate, but this does not generally lead to the development of agriculture in the sense of expanding production.

The primary reason for this is that nature of economic activity among the Jamaican peasantry does not

automatically channel economic decisions toward large scale investment in agriculture. The production of crops and livestock constitute only two alternatives within the Jamaican economy which are open to the peasantry. These alternatives are time-honored and extremely important, but they are also at times highly risky and unpredictable. Although the range of nonagriclutural economic opportunities open to the peasantry is highly variable and dependent largely upon developments external to peasant spheres of control (shifts in political power, fluctuating market demands, historical capitalist alignments, etc.), at times there are nonagricultural economic opportunities open to them and occasionally these opportunities overshadow agricultural opportunities. Occasionally, too, the restriction of nonagricultural opportunities make farming the only viable alternative.

The question is, how viable? In the last chapter I mentioned that a dominant characteristic of Jamaican peasant farming is crop and livestock diversification as opposed to specialization. Such diversification is in part a response to the unreliability of weather and markets and in part related to the demands of the household as consumers of the peasant farm's food. A nutritionally sound diet does not usually result from crop specialization among a peasantry. Bernard Nietschmann, for example, working among the Miskito Indians of Eastern Nicaragua,

demonstrated that the shift from diversified economic activities to the exploitation of a single natural resource, green turtles, a shift which was brought about by the penetration of world gourmet market demands, resulted in increased pressure on the fauna of the region, a disruption of social networks formerly relied upon to assure distribution of meat throughout the village, and a consequent decrease in meat consuption among the Indians, resulting in protien deficiency (1972). Ingrid Palmer, drawing on information from all over the world, argues that the diffusion of agricultural technology and ethnocentric emphasis on monocrop grains production in rural development programming has led to nutritional deficiency throughout the world (1972). The necessity of Jamaican peasants to consider their households' nutritional needs as well as their cash incomes from farming militates against crop specialization which could possibly yield high incomes but which does not have the security of diversified agriculture.

To reintroduce the example of Irish potatoes, a peasant farmer in the Two Meetings Watershed could make between 25 and 40% return on his or her investment per every acre planted. This rate of return is, however, based on optimal conditions from the planting to the marketing of Irish potatoes. It is based on an assumed yield of five to one, as assumed market price of J$35/CWT, an assumed market

capable of purchasing all the potatoes a farmer has to sell. Realizing these goals is not impossible. However, neither is it certain that such yields, prices or marketing successes can be relied on from year to year. Anyone familiar with the business of farming knows that farmers, whether large or small, peasants or capitalists, are subject to risks imposed by both the ecosystem and the socioeconomic environment. Ecosystem constraints can be compensated for somewhat through such facilities as crop-damage insurance, government disaster aid, long-term credit and sophisticated agricultural research and extension services, making farming a viable and less risky economic enterprise. But even in the area in Jamaica where I initially worked, the site of a rural development project, such facilities either do not exist or are not utilized by Jamaican peasants because using them often involves unaffordable interest rates or adopting new, unproven, and unfamiliar production techniques, implementation problems which are extremely common throughout the world in the context of rural development programs (cf. Spicer, 1952; Paul, 1955; Long, 1977; Hunter, 1969; Hewitt de Alcantara, 1976; Belshaw, 1976). The deficiencies within the rural Jamaican socioeconomic environment thus undermine much of the expectation of high-yield investment opportunities. Recognizing the risks of using all their money for Irish potato production, these

Jamaican peasants abstain from such investments on a large scale. During the spring of 1982, for example, the rains came early, partially damaging the potato crop and reducing yields to round two or three to one. The damaged potatoes were unacceptable to the two major marketing centers -- the AMC and the Potato Cooperative. Although the local higglers would purchase them, they did so at a reduced price. Admittedly, this was an exceptionally bad year for potato production; it does, however, graphically illustrate the possible risks of planting potatoes.

Instead of investing all their overseas money in a single potentially lucrative but also highly risky endeavor, Jamaican farm workers to the U.S. tend to spread their risks by diversifying their economic activities. Such diversification is an adaptive strategy among the Jamaican peasantry. Diversification includes economic activity but is not restricted to it. The social relations within and between households come under its influence and the bulk of the funds the farm workers earn in the United States yields to its power. The concern of the Jamaican peasantry with the maintenance and well-being of the household arises from a history and perception of restricted opportunity and a hope of a future which may allow their children to participate in social and economic shperes which were never available to them. This participation holds the glimmer of upward social mobility

which may carry the parent generation up the social ladder along with the success of the children. Failing such upward mobility, the children will at least provide for their parents in old age. Thus the investments which characterize the returning farm workers are social as well as economic in nature. The decisions these men and other members of their households must make weigh the possiblities of current economic opportunity against the more reliable securities of the cultivation of social relations among their neighbors and with their children. Do I neglect my family for the possibility of economic improvement? Do I overlook what appears to be a sound economic opportunity capable of high pay-offs because my wife and children desire nice clothes, schooling, even the chance for music to come into our home? These are the difficult questions facing the returning farm worker. Processes beyond their immediate sphere of control -- at the levels of the state and the world -- can do a great deal to shift the emphasis from the social to the more strictly economic end of the scale and back again. Jamaican peasants are sensitive to changes in state and world politics and economics which appear to offer them increased opportunity, yet they are experienced enough to be skeptical and cautious of such appearances. They take chances but at the same time are conservative. They weigh social security and economic gain against one another with

the tempering mechanisms of experience and expectation. Perhaps nowhere is the behavioral expression of maintaining such balances more evident than in the behavior of women as they receive and utilize the remitted money from the farm workers.

CHAPTER V
WOMEN, REMITTANCES, AND REPRODUCTION

The value of labour-power is determined, as in the case of every other commodity, by the labour-time necessary for the production, and consequently also the reproduction, of this special article. . . . Hence the sum of the means of subsistence necessary for the production of labour-power must include the means necessary for the labourer's substitutes, i.e., his children, in order that this race of peculiar commodity-owners may perpetuate its appearance in the market. (Marx, 1939: 339-340)

The agricultural self-sustaining communities, because of their comprehensiveness and their raison d'etre are able to fulfill functions that capitalism prefers not to assume in the underdeveloped countries: the functions of social security. The cheap cost of labour in these countries comes from the super-exploitation, not only of the labour from the wage earner himself but also of the labour of his kin group. (Meillassoux, 1972: 102)

"They rob our sweat."
--a farm worker, referring to the sugar companies.

In any economy there are two dimensions to reproduction. The first, most obvious is the biological -- the renewal of human energy for the production process by means of male/female relationships, birth, nurturance, maintenance and the eventual maturation of the young. The

second is the social -- the reproduction of the social conditions which provide the necessary means to achieve biological reproduction and which largely determine the role of the replacement generation in the production process. When educational, employment, and investment opportunities which reduce the children's reliance on the household's productive resources, or when the household's productive resources are sufficient to meet the demands of all household members, the burden of the parent generation ends with the maintenance of the children. The more social and economic resources and opportunities provided by the economic system and the state, the less the parents have to rely on the social resources generated within the networks of friends and kin.

Among the peasantry in Jamaica and throughout the Caribbean, since the abolition of slavery, migration has provided one means to alleviate the pressures on social and economic resources controlled by peasant households (cf. Lowenthal, 1972; Eisner, 1961; Hall, 1959; Hill, 1977). One of the most common means to gain access to land is to utilize the family land of a relative who has migrated. The remittances which result from migration further reduce the pressure on the household's resources. Whether migration and the consequent remittances contribute enough to production and investment to propel successive generations to higher standards of living, or whether they

simply reproduce the conditions of life enjoyed or suffered by the parent generation, depends to a great extent on the recipients of the remittances. The nature of their social and economic behavior is crucial to the eventual consequences of labor migration on the sending area. The social and economic behavior of these recipients of remittances depends in turn on their estimation of the range of opportunities open to them, on their economic experience and their expectations, which are historically derived. In the context of the alien labor program, this responsibility rests primarily on the shoulders of women.

Women account for 93% of the principal recipients of remittances of the farm workers in the United States. The most important category of recipients are the wives and girlfriends of the farm workers, who receive an estimated US$40 to $60 every fortnight, or a seasonal total of around US$400 to $600.

Table 5-1
Principal Recipients of Remittances (n=206)

Recipient	Percent of population
Wives/girlfriends	78.9
Mothers	14.1
Fathers	2.5
Grandparent	1.5
Sister	1.5
Daughter	.5

Table 5-1 -- continued

Friend	.5
Other	.5

Table 5-2
Average Amount and Frequency of Remittances Sent to Principal Recipients (Based on 21 informants in U.S. and 22 Jamaican recipients)

Recipient	Amount	Frequency/season
Wives/girlfriends	US52	10.5
Mothers	US41	4
Other	US50	1

The total Jamaican farm worker population remits around 4.8 million US dollars to Jamaica annually. Nearly all this currency is exchanged on the black market, which in 1982 yielded around J$2.00 to J$2.40 for US$1.00 . (The official exchange rate for 1982 was J$1.77 for US$1.00). Their monthly incomes for the five to seven months their husbands and boyfriends are in the U.S. thus come to around J$200. Weekly, this is the equivalent of minimum wage earnings in Jamaica.

Mothers make up the second most common category of remittance recipients. They receive anywhere from US$30 to $50 but usually with less frequency than the girlfriends and wives, around every second or third fortnight. For the total season the amount sent to mothers averages around

US$200 to $300. Beyond these two categories of kin, the farm workers remit very little money to other members of their kindreds. Although occasional money orders are sent to fathers, children, grandparents and siblings, these are infrequent and generally smaller than those sent to wives, girlfriends and mothers.

What do the women do with this money? For the most part, they use it in ways which also ultimately serve to reproduce the labor force and to reproduce the social conditions of the peasantry. Their expenditures are time-honored, channelled by traditions which have taught women in Jamaican the lessons of female survival in a social system publically governed and geared toward men. They use this money, not surprisingly, for their children, investing in their primary source of social security.

A byproduct of this is agricultural production. To keep children healthy the nutritional output of the family farm must remain stable. Women are quick to point out that idle or barren land hurts no one but the household. And women, remember, are usually the managers of the farm workers' farms while the men are in the U.S. (see table 4-6). Fifty Jamaican dollars per week will sustain six people at the barest of subsistence levels and then only at the expense of schooling for the children and indulgence. With unreliable postal services where letters from South Florida are occasionally sorted into post office personnel

pockets in Kingston, the wives and girlfriends of the farm workers cannot totally depend on this source of cash. Thus while agricultural production may not be expanding as a result of this program, neither is it being totally undermined.

In the process of keeping agricultural production stable with remitted monies, a positive impact of the program emerges. These women take care of young children and manage the household as well as the farm while the farm workers are abroad: they cannot handle all phases of crops and livestock production by themselves. For this reason, most of the remitted money which is used to keep farm output stable goes into the pockets of hired hands. Labor in Jamaica, I earlier pointed out, constitutes the most precious and dear agricultural resource. With cash coming into the household, the tendency among Jamaican farmers is to opt for the preferred labor arrangement of hiring wage laborers at a daily rate of around J$8.00 to $10.00 plus meals, chocolate drinks, sometimes rum and ganja. Thus these wives and girlfriends of farm workers, predictably, opt for the preferred alternative and hire wage laborers. It is a case, you could say, of energy begetting energy: the human energy expended in the U.S. for wages leads, through the medium of remittances, to additional energy expenditures in Jamaica on the farms of the farm workers. Not only does the program generate employment in the

Jamaican agricultural sector, it generates employment in construction as well. Carpenters, masons and day laborers are hired to help build the farm workers' homes. Construction workers however tend to be paid directly by the farm workers with the money they carry back and with the money from their compulsory savings accounts, instead of with remitted money.

How many agricultural jobs do these remittances provide annually? On the basis of the sample from the Two Meetings Watershed, 82% of the farm workers hire all or some of their labor for agricultural production (see table 4-14, column 1, rows 2-4) and 73.5% use remitted money to do so (see table 4-7). Although the mean figure of man-days of hired labor per year is 107 for the households that hire labor, I have divided up the farm worker sample into thirds, with one third falling at the low end of the farm labor requirement scale, the second in the middle, and the third at the high end:

Table 5-3
Mean annual Man-Days of Hired Labor Per Year Farm Worker Households' Farms, High, Medium, and Low Figures

	Range	Mean	Percent of population
High	100-720	230	33.3
Medium	52-96	73	33.3
Low	3-48	19	33.3

According to the Ministry of Labour and Employment's most recent estimate, the average annual number of farm workers who went to the U.S. in this program for the 1978-1980 seasons was 8962, with a stable average annual population of around 6229 (Jamaican Department of Statistics, 1982a: 25). Ninety-one percent of these individuals manage small farms. To estimate the number of man-days of hired labor per year generated by remittances, then, I use this simple formulas:

$$((A \times B) \times C) \times D = X$$

Where A is one third of the stable labor force (6229/3 = 2076.3), B is the peasant portion of the labor force (91% or .91), C is the proportion of the farm worker population who hire labor with remittances (73.5% or .735), and D is the mean figure for for man-days of hired labor/farm/year (230, 73, or 19). For X, then, the low figure is 26,385.93 man-days of hired labor/year generated by remittances, the middle figure is 101,377.52, and the high figure 319,408.63. Given the particular seasonality of farming systems on the island, moreover, most of this labor will be required while the farm workers are abroad. Edwards's comprehensive study of small farming throughout Jamaica shows that reaping and planting, the two most labor-intensive activities of Jamaican peasant farming,

occur primarily between October and March, during the farm workers' absence, in five out of nine of the areas studied (Edwards, 1962: 62-65). In the other four areas around 50% of the reaping and planting is done during the farm workers' absence. Thus for most of the island the farm worker households' agricultural labor requirements are highest while the farm workers are in the U.S. Although the farm workers do tend to tailor their cropping schedules so that they can take part in at least one phase of the crop cycle, the evidence suggests that even households whose hired labor requirements fall far below the mean figures presented above hire the majority of their labor during the farm workers' absence, using remitted money to do so.

The figures presented above thus represent the upper, medium, and lower points in the range of man-days of hired agricultural labor/year generated by the program. Based on a daily wage of J$9.00, the program annually generates between J$237,473 and J$2,874,677 in wages paid to day laborers in Jamaica, with the middle figure being around J$912,397 (US$515,479). Stated in terms of another measure, the remitted earnings from the program annually provide 84 to 1024 full-time jobs in Jamaica (based on a 6-day work week, 52 weeks per year). This is as much as between .006% and .1% of the total Jamaican Labour force (Jamaican Department of Statistics, 1982b).

These measures of wages and numbers of jobs, however, actually understate the benefit of these remitted U.S. earnings as they generate employment and wages. A qualitative consideration of this information yields a clearer picture of the nature of this impact than does a quantitiative one. These wages are paid to temporary day laborers, not permanent hired hands; they create part-time not full-time jobs. Moreover, these jobs are given, for the most part, to neighbors (not necessarily friends) of the farm workers' households. Usually these neighbors are peasants themselves who manage their own small farms. As such, they too need a little extra cash income at the very times of the year when their own farm expenses are, like the farm workers' households', high. Although able to rely on family and exchange labor for their labor needs, these peasants who hire themselves out as day laborers, to plant and reap their own crops, need cash income for things such as seed, fertilizers, pesticides, rents, transportation to market and chicken backs and rum for those with whom they exchange labor when the work is being done on their fields. These day laboring peasants can hire themselves out and still devote time to their own household economic activities. Thus the ripple effects of the money remitted to girlfriends and wives is that it serves to help keep agricultural output stable on these day laborers' peasant farms as well as on their own. This, in turn, further

guarantees the reproduction of labor for the program and for other capitalist industries and other peasant households that utilize the Jamaican peasantry as a labor market. At the same time, however, this practice reinforces among the peasantry their tradition of engaging in part-time seasonal wage labor as opposed to full-time wage labor, a tradition which has preoccupied capitalists and Jamaican legislators since the abolition of slavery (Hall, 1959; Eisner, 1961) yet which has simultaneously militated against the formation of class consciousness and effective unionization among the peasantry (Mintz, 1979; Knowles, 1959; Griffith, 1979).

With these remittances, then, the tendency among the women is to keep farm output more or less in line with what it was prior to the absence of the farm worker. That they tend to neither innovate nor expand production is not surprising. Most of the wives and girlfriends are at the times in their life cycles when their family sizes and consequent domestic responsibilities are increasing, just like the men who participate in the program. They still must care for young children and for the day-to-day demands of the household. They cannot spare time for the detailed observations and practices that agricultural experimentation requires (cf. Johnson, 1972). In addition, agricultural extension in Jamaica has been and still remains sexist, oriented toward males. The female

component of the IRDP, for example, consisted of classes in nutrition, breast feeding information, child care and the preparation and care of family gardens. No attention was given to cash cropping on larger fields. Without social supports for the feminization of agriculture, these women cannot be expected to significantly expand or innovate on the peasant farm. Moreover, there are indications that agricultural production undertaken by women is oriented more toward subsistence than toward surplus generation. First is the tendency of women to care for family gardens and to care for crops which are more commonly grown for home consumption -- sweet potato, casava, pumpkin, corn, pok chow. Second, although women will put in cash crops of Irish potatoes or red peas, for example, the farm workers tend to tailor their cash cropping somewhat to the schedule constraints of their absence. That is, they usually plan their cash cropping so that they can take part in at least one phase of the crop cycle. For example, few farm workers, during their travel years, have their wives put in an early crop of Irish potatoes which would prohibit them taking part in any phase of the crop cycle. Finally, the records of the potato coop and the AMC, two of the three principal marketing outlets for cash crops, contain a disproportionately small number of female sellers. Looking over 956 AMC receipt vouchers from three different years (1974, 1978 and 1981), 739 vouchers were made out to men

and 207 were made out to women. The men sellers outnumber the women three and one half to one.

The greater orientation toward subsistence agricultural production than toward cash crops production is predictable. Women throughout the Caribbean have traditionally channelled their entrepreneurial ability into goods and services circulation as opposed to production (Mintz, 1957, 1964; Katzin, 1959, 1971). Also, the development of strong mother-son bonds has, ever since the beginning of large scale, predominantly male emmigration, served as a valuable social investment among women (Clarke, 1957; Kerr, 1952; Henriques, 1953; Hill, 1977; Lowenthal, 1972). Maintaining these bonds involves satisfying the nutritional well-being of the children through subsistence agriculture. The result of this increased orientation toward subsistence agriculture is that the money which goes into farm output eventually is consumed by the children and thus facilitates the physiological reproduction of the labor force.

While maintaining agricultural production draws upon remitted money, so does schooling. Although education in Jamaica at public school requires no tuition expenditures, parents must buy uniforms, books, and supplies, and provide their children with lunch money. Schooling, like maintaining agricultural production for the nutritional well-being of the children, constitutes an investment in

human capital and a possible delayed, indirect means of upward socioeconomic mobility and prestige for the parent generation. The following letter from an unemployed migrant mother in Boston to her daughter in Jamaica demonstrates the importance that women place on the education and welfare of their children. The names have been changed and the addressed omitted but otherwise the letter is here reproduced in its entirety:

5.2.83

Hello my dear sweet darling daughter Michelle,

How are you doing. How are the rest of the kids doing Well I hope you are all fine, Say hello to and kiss Lee, Gloria and Beverly and your Uncle Isra for me.

I hope you are all doing your lesson Michelle remember if you do not have a P.H.D and masters degree you will not be able to get a Job or even to find something to do into this world and to get a degree you have to be able to go through high school, through college and university and to go to all these places you must be able to read and write well in order to pass your exam, so please see to it the other children do their lessons. I hope you are not giving Mr. Simmit any problem that he get angry with you, remember he is a very nice person to you all so dont let him vex with with any of you and find any falt of you all. I hope you are taking the best care of little Beverly for me tell her that I still love her and hoping to be with her again. Tell Lee to behave himself and be a good boy so that he wont have to get much beeten, because if he do not behave I told Mr. Simmit not to play with him. Tell your Uncle Isra I hope he is not been a headache to Mr. Simmit. Take care of Gloria. Tell Lee I hope he will and is staying into the yard and not roming street that people have things to say of me, that I left them like hog and dog. O.K, and will you continue to behave and grow as a nice little girl as you always do remember to keep out of bad company anything please tell it to Mr. Simmit, for God sake. Do remember that is because of you kids why I have to be away into this cold I am so Cold that I can hardly manage the pen if you ever see outside snow is on the ground like a sand heap and like mountain can you imagine, you will experience one day

not very long from know. So all you have to do is behave your self and have manners to Mr. Simmit who is more than your own father he is head wise and good with out him I dont know how I would ever manage. I dont start work as yet so I dont have any money any way see I send a $1 Ask Mr. Simmit to change it for you that you can buy stam to write me. Say Hello to Angel, Karl Robert and Jusset them for me. Tell Miss Grace I will soon write and Mrs. Bennet. How are you managing with the house work is the girl come to stay as yet send and tell me how Beverly getting on in school. Is Autie Flo come to look for you. Aunt Madge send hello, I am fine.

P.S. be a good girl now as you always do.
Tell Mr. Simmit that money should be at the courts office by now.
Take care and Write soon always loving Mother

Even though the recipients of remittances stress education, as does this woman, there is no evidence that the schooling of children is entirely dependent on the receipt of remittances. Comparisons between the farm workers' households and the control population show that around 90% of both groups have all of their children who are of school age attending school.

Table 5-4
Percent of Households with all School aged Children in School: Comparisons of Farm Workers' Households and Control Households (n=45)

farm worker	control
90.6	87.1

One reason for this is that schooling of children is generally seen as a top priority investment among Jamaican peasants and that some portion of any money which comes

into the household will be diverted to this end. Another reason is that the receipt of remittances from participation in this alien labor program is temporary, rarely lasting more than five or six years. The household, of course, contains school-age children for a considerably longer time.

Although the emphasis on formal schooling for the children acts as a drain on household resources, including remittances, there are few indications that as an investment in human capital it is likely to yield high dividends of prestige and upward socioeconomic mobility. Thirty-nine percent of the total unemployed Jamaican labor force in 1981 had received post-primary formal education and 59% had attended primary school, while 77% of the employed Jamaican labor force had recieved no formal education of had only attended primary school (Jamaican Department of Statistics, 1982b: 34-35; 84-89). This is not to say that putting money into formal schooling of Jamaican children is a wasted effort. As the woman who wrote the above letter indicated, the ability to read and write, as well as to count, is in itself a major achievement and a possible means to other economically beneficial ends.

From the above discussion it is clear that these remittances provide women in Jamaica with the additional means to invest in their most promising source of social

security. That mothers of farm workers constitute the second largest category of remittances demonstrates that this investment strategy pays off on an individual level. On a social level, however, the extent to which we can consider these investments in human capital among women truly developmental is questionable. Consider, initially, the curious thing which happens to the farm workers themselves as a result of this generalized investment strategy among women: intergenerationally, they are partially dealt out of the social security network established with the money they send home. To describe this process, a few case examples are necessary (again, the names are fictitious).

Case one: Mitchell Stevens has been a farm worker for seven seasons. He currently lives with his girlfriend Stacy, their two children and three other children whom Stacy had by another man. Stacy's ex-lover has since migrated to New York, married a U.S. citizen and fathered another child. Still, the New York father keeps in contact with the kids he had with Stacy, sending them money occasionally at Christmas and Easter. While Mitchell is cutting cane in South Florida, he remits money to Stacy, to his mother, and to another woman named Ann, his former girlfriend with whom he had four children. Ann lives in another house with the children she had by Mitchell, with her current boyfriend Raphael, and with two more children

she and Raphael have had together. Raphael in turn has connections with other households, but for the sake of parsimony, consider only the following three households between which cash, goods, services, information, connections, love, and social security flow: Mitchell's and Stacy's household (#1), the New York household (#2), and Ann's and Raphael's household (#3).

Even though this does not exhaust Mitchell's interhousehold connections, in this example we can see that, first, although Mitchell lives in only one household, he contributes to the maintenance and reproduction of two (1 and 3); although he has only six children, he contributes to the support of eleven. Neither Stacy nor Ann, in their behavior toward their children, differentiate between Mitchell's children and the other children because Mitchell is the one sending the cash. Consider, though, where the primary loyalties of the children lie and whom they will take care of in old age. The money which goes to the support of Mitchell's own biological children as well as the children he lives with may enventually pay off in terms of his support later on, but not necessarily. That is, although the children who live with him may acknowledge their debt to him, the three children whom Stacy had by the New York migrant will probably acknowledge some debt to the New Yorker as well. Not only does the New Yorker continue to occasionally send his Jamaican children cash, he may

prove to be a valuable connection for the potential migration of the children. Stacy recognizes this possibility and actively keeps the New York connection strong. If these children migrate, Stacy will be the primary beneficiary. A second consideration here is that Mitchell's children who live with Ann and Raphael may, in the future, acknowledge their debt not to Mitchell but to Ann and Raphael. This is less likely to occur than the first situation, because Mitchell, as their real father, keeps in contact with these children while he is in Jamaica. Neverthless these children's primary loyalty will be to Ann, and her household will benefit before Mitchell's household in terms of social security. Finally, although Mitchell's money contributes to the support of the two children born to Ann and Raphael, there is no reason to believe that these children will help Mitchell out at all in later years, since he is neither their biological nor sociological father.

In sum, while Mitchell contributes to the support of eleven children, the best he can hope for is that nine of those children will acknowledge their debt to him and contribute to his welfare later in life. Seven of these nine children will have other obligations as well. In the worst of all possible outcomes, Mitchell's investment in the support of eleven children will only yield social security support from two. Even those two children will

attend to the needs of their mother, Stacy, prior to considering Mitchell's needs. As the investments in social security being to pay off in rural Jamaica, it is primarily the women, who attend to the children's needs, not the absent men, who reap the most rewards.

While Mitchell's case demonstrates the drains on his U.S earnings because of previous unions and outside children, and the intergenerational result of this, what happens to the remittances of farm workers who have no outside children and who can be relatively certain that investments in their sociological and biological children, channelled through the women, will pay off? In the first case I omitted Mitchell's ties with his parents' household for the sake of clarity; in the second case I focus specifically on these relationships.

Case two: John Rattray has been a farm worker for eleven seasons. He lives in a household with his wife and their thirteen children. Neither he nor his wife have had children in other relationships. Nevertheless John contributes to the support and reproduction of two households with his U.S. earnings, both of them quite large. He sends money and carries home U.S. goods for both his own household members and for his mother and father. As is typical in Jamaica, John's parents' household consists of three generations: the mother and father, their children who have not yet left home and their children

have left home but returned after unsuccessful relationships, and some of their grandchildren. Like John, some of John's sisters and brothers contribute cash and unpaid labor to their parents' household. John, however, is the only one of his parents' children who has a more or less steady source of cash from his participation in the program. Although John's parents do not depend on John's contributions, they nevertheless expect them, and John does in fact annually send between US$200 to US$300 to his folks.

It is important to consider two things here. First, the money John remits to his parents' household will not, in the future, benefit John. That is, he is acknowledging his debt to his parents for raising him. Second, the money which John remits to his parents cuts into his total net earnings, so that John has less money to spend on his own children, the children whom John can expect to support him later in life. John thereby lessens the amount of money invested in each child and lessens their individual chances for success and achievement. Finally, with so many people drawing upon John's U.S. earnings, John has little chance to accumulate capital assets which could help him or his children strive toward higher standards of living.

Case three: The third and final case presented here illustrates the manipulation of mother-son bonds by household members and the effect of this manipulation on

the distribution of job cards. This case involves two households related by a male PNP committee member named Samuel Evans. In his first relationship with a woman, Samuel and the woman had five daughters and two sons. Subsequent to this, in 1974, he moved in with another woman named Gloria who had two sons of her own from a previous relationship. At the time he moved in with Gloria, her two sons were 21 and 26 years old. The elder of these had already moved out of the household and the younger one was soon to leave. Samuel's two sons were 18 and 24 years old. Thus Samuel was more of a social as well as the biological father to his own children than he was to Gloria's children. The bond between himself and Gloria's children was not strong. However, after the move, Mr. Evans became a PNP committee member, began receiving job cards, and gave the first card he received to Gloria's eldest son rather than to one of his own sons. The following year he gave his second job card to Gloria's second son. Again, he passed over his own son in order to give a job card to the son of the woman he was currently living with. Only after he had given cards to both Gloria's sons did he give the third card to his own eldest son.

Considering these behaviors, one can readily see the material basis of Samuel's decisions concerning the distribution of job cards. That is, Gloria's two sons remit money to Gloria and hence to the household that

Samuel lives in at the present time. His own son, however, remits money to Samuel's ex-wife and hence to a household that Samuel is no longer a part of. His own son also sends money directly to him, but with far less frequency than he sends money to his mother. By giving the job cards to Gloria's sons rather than his own, the household Samuel currently lives in benefits.

The above cases illustrate different dimensions of the same process: simply, the social relatioships within and between households function to spread remitted money throughout the Jamaican countryside. This results in the farm workers contributing to social security networks which never benefit them in the future or which benefited them in the past. These contributions further undermine their own investments in personal social security networks and their investments in human and nonhuman capital. At the same time, these contributions benefit primarily women recipients of remittances in terms of their social security networks of today (as mothers of the farm workers) and of tomorrow (as mothers of children who will eventually contribute to thier own welfare later in life. Finally, remitted money is further spread thoughout the countryside as wives and girlfriends of farm workers, satisfying the investment needs of social security networks by maintaining farm output for household maintenance, hire agricultural day laborers.

I do not mean to suggest here that the farm workers themselves derive no benefits from these remittances. These behaviors function to provide social security for the farm workers themselves, even though women are the primary beneficiaries. Also, the women provide for the farm workers a broad range of services which contribute to the social security, current and future welfare, and well-being of the farm workers. They manage and maintain the farm workers' households while the farm workers are abroad, they care for their children who will aid the farm workers later in life, and they provide affection and sexual gratification for the farm workers upon their return. The major point here is that these behaviors function to reduce the extent to which farm workers have funds left over for the possible formation and accumulation of capital and for investment.

The alien labor program does not cause these social relationships which serve to spread remitted money throughout the countryside. These relationships existed long before 1943 and the money remitted from farm workers only reinforces preexisting conditions. Nor is this money the only or even the primary fuel keeping these relationships alive. Out of a peasant population of well over one million, only six to seven thousand men participate in the program annually. These six to seven thousand men, however, coming from households consisting of

around seven persons, contribute to the direct maintenance of at least 45,000 people (6500 x 7). Assuming that every farm worker has social relationships which draw on his funds with at least one other household (his parents', his wife's parents' or his outside children's), these six to seven thousand men also contribute to the maintainance of at least another 45,000 people. Thus at least 90,000 people annually benefit by these U.S. earnings (nearly 5% of the total population of Jamaica). The actual number of direct and indirect beneficiaries is of course much higher, when one adds into these figures the day laborers hired with remittances and thier household members and when one considers that many of these farm workers, like Mitchell Stevens, contribute to three or more households.

In terms of the impact of the BWI Temporary Alien Labor Program, there are a few different ways to interpret this information. Considering the sheer volume of people who benefit by these remittances, we could conclude that this constitutes a socially beneficial impact of the program, helping support and educate children, helping day-laboring peasants meet their own farms' and households' cash income requirements, providing social security and the means to future social security among the peasantry. In fulfilling these obligations with remittances, however, they are helping to reproduce the peasantry and the social conditions of the peasantry because this money goes into so

many pockets, hands, and stomachsn These behaviors make it difficult to accumulate capital and to consolidate wealth. Without the ability to consolidate wealth and to use that wealth to accumulate more wealth, economic growth among the peasantry is stifled.

These processes which aid in both senses of the reproduction of the Jamaican peasantry, from another point of view, are functional. Capitalist and peasant producers who utilize the Jamaican peasantry as a labor force benefit from these reproductive processes because, as Marx said in the quote opening this chapter, the laborers continually appear in the labor market by means of biological reproduction and they continually need to appear in the labor market to supplement their incomes. In addition, because their social security is provided by relations within and between peasant households, the state and the economic enterprises which utilize the peasants as laborers are relieved of a portion of the maintenance costs which reproduction demands, as Meillassoux said. What neither Marx nor Meillassoux pointed out in their writings is that this particular social arrangement between peasants, capitalists and the state sometimes backfires: it allows peasants a degree of independence which cuts into their reliability as wage laborers. Economic enterprises that need wage laborers can, in underdeveloped countries, always be assured of having a labor pool from which to draw. They

cannot however be assured of keeping the same members of peasant households working for them. Under such an arrangement, that is, there are high turnovers of personnel. New personnel always emerge but productivity slows down as these new personnel are being trained. The USAID personnel working for the IRDP were constantly complaining because of these high turnover problems. They called the Jamaicans lazy, unmotivated, and unwilling to work, when what was really going on was that these peasants had their own farms -- their sources of independence -- to attend to. In a factory setting where the timing of manufacture is crucial to the industry's total productive output, such as those characterizing free production zones and export platforms (cf. Barnet, 1981: 245-251), new people coming in can slow down the entire enterprise. Barnet argues that these problems arising from the relationships between peasants and capitalist industries has led to more and more capitalists in Third World settings to rely less on the local labor market and more on machines for production (1981: 260-262).

To the Jamaican peasantry, are these reproductive processes beneficial in terms of improving their standards of living or the standards of living of their children? The individual farm workers, while they travel, benefit, as do their households. That is, they obtain clothing, some extra cash, can satisfy a few obligations and at least

begin contruction on their homes. The impact of their participation may be short-lived, but it is nevertheless important to the individuals while they are participating. But on a social level or in a developmental sense, as long as extensive informal social security networks draw so heavily on funds received through international labor migration, wealth consolidation, capital formation and accumulation, and investment become difficult or impossible. The bases for economic growth continue to be undermined.

CHAPTER VI
DIFFERENTIATION AND CHANGE WITHIN THE JAMAICAN PEASANTRY

The analysis so far has focussed on comparison between the households of men who participate in the BWI Temporary Alien Labor Program and Jamaican peasant households whose members have not had equivalent migration experiences. These comparisons demonstrate that very few differences exist between the two populations, especially in terms of agricultural production, and lead the the conclusion that seasonal, international labor migration among the Jamaican peasantry will not differentiate peasant producers from one another. Indeed, the tables presented in chapter four demonstrated that the two sample populations are extremely similar in terms of both demographic and agricultural production variables, and the following tables show that they are extremely similar in terms of socioeconomic variables as well.

Table 6-1
Home Tenure

	Farm Worker	Control
Rent	25.6	17.6
Own	60.5	68.2

Table 6-1 -- continued

Lives with parents	2.3	2.4
Lives with other relative	4.7	5.9
Other	7.0	6.0

Table 6-2
Characteristics of House and Yard

	Farm Worker	Control
Average number of structures in yard	1.8	1.9
Average number of rooms in house	3.2	3.9

Table 6-3
House Construction Material and State of Completion

	Percent of Farm Worker	Percent of Control
Material:		
Covered concrete block	44.8	60.4
Rough concrete block	48.3	13.2
Wood	6.9	26.4

Table 6-3 -- continued

State of Completion:		
Finished	62.1	65.5
Unfinished	37.9	32.7

Table 6-4
Other Socioeconomic Indicators

Indicator	Farm Worker	Control
Percent owning rum shops	6.7	5.5
Percent with electricity in homes	29.6	34.0
Percent with indoor plumbing	9.1	13.0
Percent owning televisions	36.0	14.6

In these tables there are only two comparative outcomes which would suggest that the farm workers' households are of somewhat higher socioeconomic standing than other peasant households. That is, around twice as many farm workers' households own television sets, and a larger percentage of farm workers live in houses made of concrete block as opposed to cheaper, less prestigious, and less structurally sound wooden houses. These differences have little to do with agricultural production, capital formation and accumulation, investment, and other economic

activities which would indicate that participation in seasonal, international labor migration will automatically lead to economic development in the Jamaican countryside.

The above analysis, moreover, explained the lack of differences between the two populations by examining and describing aspects of Jamaican peasant social structure. Relationships within and between peasant households, based on a need to consider social security and reproduction before expanding production, function to spread the U.S. earnings of the farm workers throughout their kinship networks and serve to reinforce prevailing social strategies within the peasantry. It should be noted that social structural factors such as these are central to historical-structural approaches to the study of labor migration, a point which will become important in the following chapter.

In this chapter I shift the focus of analysis somewhat, and attempt to determine whether the length of participation in the program is a crucial variable in differentiating the farm workers' households from one another and whether prolonged participation in the program leads to differentiation and change within the Jamaican countryside. To accomplish this, I focus in particular on those farm workers who have succeeded in accumulating capital with their U.S. earnings, and then move on to discuss the repercussions of their economic activities in

the Jamaican countryside. Comparisons between the farm worker population and a control population do not reveal these cases because the generalizations outlined in the last three chapters are applicable to the farm worker population as a whole, not to selected portions of it. Although these cases constitute only 39% of the farm worker population (see tables 6-5 and 6-6), although they are unrepresentative, these cases provide insights into the potential of Jamaican peasants to improve their economic conditions and insights into the potential of an improved alien labor program.

Table 6-5
Proportion of Farm Worker Population who have Accumulated Capital (n=54)

	Absolute frequency	Percent of total	Number with 4 seasons or more	Number with 5 seasons or more	percent of 4+ season workers
Have Accumulated capital	21	38.8	21	19	65.6
Have not Accumulated capital	33	61.1	11	10	34.4

Table 6-6
Nature of Capital Accumulation Among Farm Workers (n=54)

Capital	Absolute frequency	Percent of total	Percent of workers with 4 plus seasons
Agricultural:			
Land purchase of more than .5 acres	13	24	40.6
Livestock of 20 or more head	2	3.7	6.2
Nonagricultural:			
Transportation	4	7.4	12.5
Rum shop or other merchandising	12	22.2	37.5
Other business	3	5.5	9.4

Note: includes only capital acquired during or after participation in program; some double counting occurs due to farm workers diverdifying into more than one economic activity.

More importantly, however, these cases offer us clues to the nature and direction of social change within the Jamaican peasantry. That is, although these farm workers do not represent the farm worker population, the ways in which they improve their economic conditions are common methods by which Jamaican peasants take advantage of employment and investment opportunities. They are, moreover, indicative of the ways in which capital formation and accumulation alters and reinforces social relations within the peasantry.

All the farm workers I discuss in this chapter have participated in the program for at least four years. All have personal histories of attempts to accumulate capital. They are not all highly successful nor all permanently successful, but a discussion of their economic activities yields the empirical information with which we can better build theory capable of predicting peasant behavior, and with which we can better grasp the needs, desires, and the potential of the peasantry for developmental purposes.

The Shift From Reproduction to Production

In the last two chapters we have seen that the majority of farm workers' earnings are used for three general purposes: 1) consumer spending in the U.S.; 2) house construction in the islands; and 3) the cultivation of future, and the material acknowledgement of present, social security networks. All three areas of expenditure aid in the sociological and biological reproduction of the Jamaican peasantry. This, not development, constitutes the principal impact of the alien labor program on the Jamaican peasantry.

When participation in the program lasts for a number of years, however, these areas of expenditure may begin to draw proportionately less of the farm workers' earnings. That is, they are sometimes able to complete the house,

recycle clothes, and no longer need additional tape decks and televisions. When and if this occurs, do the farm workers then tend to expand agricultural production, invest in farm and nonfarm productive assets, and acquire and accumulate capital? Do they, in short, begin to shift from social and biological reproduction spending to spending which lays a foundation for growth and upward mobility? Finally, if they do, are they still peasants?

The difficulty in answering these questions lies in determining how long it takes to satisfy or reduce the reproduction expenditure commitments. This length of time is variable within the farm working population, depending on a wide variety of social and individual factors. The farm worker with seven children spread between two households, for example, will need more money to satisfy his reproductive expenses that the farm worker with two children in one household.

Despite this variability, we can estimate the general length of time required to satisfy or reduce these reproduction drains on U.S. earnings by considereing that 100% of the farm workers who have accumulated capital with their U.S. earnings have worked in the program four or more seasons and 90% have worked in the program five or more seasons (see table 6-5). This suggests that it takes between four and five seasons to begin to shift from reproductive spending to investments oriented toward the

acquisition and accumulation of capital. Some qualifier statements are necessary here. First, I have not included house-and-garden land purchases of less than one-half acre in the category of capital assets, since these, although used for some crops and livestock production, tend to produce goods which are ultimately and primarily used (through sale or direct consumption) to maintain and reproduce the members of the household. Second, the four to five season requirement refers to consecutive seasons working in either the apple and sugar harvests or the sugar harvest alone. Those men who work only in the apple harvest or do not work consecutive seasons usually do not utilize their overseas earnings for anything other than household maintainence and reproduction. Finally, all farm workers who have worked four consecutive seasons or more have not made the shift from reproductive spending to capital formation and accumulation (see table 6-5). That is, this shift is not automatic. In fact, only 65% of the four or more season men have made this shift (see table 6-5). It is within explanations of why some have made the shift and why others have not, as well as within descriptions and interpretations of the consequences of these shifting expenditures, that we find the most informative clues to the nature and direction of social change within the Jamaican peasantry.

Discussing the recruitment of men into the alien labor program, I earlier noted that the possession of job cards indicates an indirect or direct link to the Jamaican power structure. This connection constitutes a measure of "strategic placement" (Long, 1977: 135) within the Jamaica, meaning that these men possess the means to gain access to at least some of the social resources which jamaica has to offer. These social resources are social relations between individuals which yield material, economic, and informational benefits. They are connections with MPs, committee members, administrators of marketing outlets, wealthier peasants, influential men and women in the district, loan officers at banks, rural development personnel, lawyers, real estate agents, and others who might be able and willing to put in a good word for them or offer them jobs or investment opportunities. They usually involve patron-client relationships but can also take the form of business partnerships, where all involved parties are socioeconomic equals. They yield such things as job cards, government jobs contracts, legal titles to land which can be used as collateral for loans, agricultural extension attention, part-time jobs, the free use of vehicles, tools, labor or land, lenient financial terms for the acquisition of productive resources, orders for yellow yams at the AMC and USAID housing materials or agricultural supplies. Examining those farm workers who have acquired

capital with their U.S. earnings, one characteristic common to these cases is that they tend to utilize most of the social resources available to them.

Table 6-7
Social Resource Utilization Among Four or More Season Farm Workers

	Those who have acquired capital (n-21)	Those who have not acquired capital (n=11)
Average number of social resources utilized	4.3	1.3
Nature of social resource utilization		
Agriculrual extension	13	3
Creditors	17	2
Hire lawyers	7	0
Utilize all markets	21	3
Political connections and other influential people	20	5

Note: does not include job card connection, which is common to all.

Not only do these farm workers utilize those social resources they already have access to by virtue of kinship and friendship ties, they attempt to cultivate new connections which will yield further access to social resources. Sometimes they use the money earned in the U.S. to do this, hiring lawyers, loaning money to other

peasants, buying drinks for influential people, tipping politicians. What is important to note here is that these farm workers do not generally acquire these social resource connections as a direct result of participating in the alien labor program. That is, all of the farm workers who have acquired capital were taking advantage of their social resources, seeking ways to invest their earnings in productive assets, prior to travelling to the U.S. to cut sugar cane or pick apples. The money they earned in the U.S. enhanced, not caused, this behavior.

Does it then follow that these farm workers were, prior to participation, richer than those who spend their money on maintenance and reproduction alone? Certainly they all were and are richer in terms of social resource connections, and most in fact did have somewhat of a socioeconomic edge over other farm workers prior to travel. Looking into their backgrounds, 62% come from families who indicate somewhat higher socioeconomic positions than other four or more season farm workers.

Table 6-8
Indicators of Socioeconomic Backgrounds: Comparisons of Four or More Season Farm Workers Who Have Accumulated Capital with Those Who Have Not

Indicators	Have capital	Do not have capital
Family has financed migration of one member	11	0

Table 6-8 -- continued

Family has financed college education of one member	3	0
Farm Worker has inherited land of one or more acres	8	0
No land inheritance	10	11
Have access to land of emigrant relative	9	0
Percent of population who come from higher socioeconomic backgrounds	62	0

Thirty-eight percent, however, come from backgrounds with no more wealth than those who have not acquired capital with their U.S. earnings. For the 62%, though, do we have a case of the rich getting richer while the poor stay poor? Perhaps. But these peasants whom I call richer still take care of household maintenace and reproduction expenditures prior to branching out into alternate investment areas. By their neighbors' standards they may be wealthier, but by the standards of the Jamaican middle class they are not usually wealthy.

How do they differ from the four or more season workers who have not made the shift away from reproductive spending? The easiest explanation, and the most conservative, is to call these farm workers who have not

begun accumulating capital lazy, lacking ambition, and so on (Henry, 1978). However, any farm worker who has worked for four or more consecutive seasons in the alien labor program has passed some U.S. company's objective and subjective tests of skill, devotion, productivity, compliance with management and whatever else goes into the decisions to request a worker to work again and again for the same company. That these men are requested to return testifies to their willingness and ability to work hard.

More plausible explanations of the inability for accumulation among 35% (see table 6-5, row 2, column 5) of the four or more season farm workers arise considering their backgrounds against the more general portrait of the Jamaican peasantry. As table 6-8 shows, all of these men come from poorer peasant households. None have inherited any land. None have access to the land of an emigrant relative. Those who own land own only house-and-garden plots. This tendency for extremely small landholdings or no landholdings among this group suggests two other tendencies which inhibit their households' abilities to economically grow. First, they have trouble getting loans. Athough some have tried to borrow money from a local bank or the IRDP, they have no collateral to speak of. Some have succeeded in receiving aid from the IRDP, but this lack of collateral effectively restricts their credit alternatives. With this restriction and with small

landholdings, they tend to orient their agricultural production primarily toward production for use.

At this point one could ask why these individuals have not, like some of the four or more season successful farm workers who also come from poor households, used their U.S. earnings to buy land, improve their credit worthiness, borrow and expand production. In deference to the conservatives, there were two individuals in this group who, according to their wives and neighbors, have been spending their money in ways which the Jamaicans considered foolish. One kept purchasing housing materials but gambled and drank heavily, reselling the materials to finance these activities. The other spends nearly everything, every season he works, on U.S. goods. He owns no capital assets nor even owns his own house, but he does have quite a nice sound system. The lack of ability of the others to accumulate resources, however, can be attributed to their extensive kinship networks. All of these individuals support three or more households because of outside children and the acknowledgement of debts to the parent household. They tend to have not one or two outside children, as is common, but four or more.

Again, these explanations come as no surprise. The underlying obstacles to the accumulation of resources among these farm workers are by no means restricted to them. They are the same barriers to economic growth faced by the

entire Jamaican peasantry. In terms of their social security functions they are adaptive, but maladaptive in terms of the consolidation of wealth and economic growth. Yet some, by legal as well as illegal means, partially circumvent these obstacles and begin to show signs of getting ahead.

Economic Diversification: Agricultural and Nonagricultural

The most salient characteristic of economic activity within the Jamaican peasantry is diversification. By diversified economic activity I do not mean to suggest that we have a case of everyone doing the same thing, everyone producing the same goods and services, with little or no economic specialization. In a qualitative sense this process of economic diversification is more similar to the Western industrial conglomerate than it is to the kind of diversification characterizing, for example, hunters and gatherers. But even this comparison suffers from inaccuracies: Western industrial conglomerates such as ITT diversify their economic activities, usually, after they become a dominating economic entity in one field (Heilbroner, 1980: 298-299). These peasants diversify their economic activity long before they even begin to exert a dominating force on the market for agricultural products or handicrafts or transportation services.

Moreover, this diversification includes diversified employment activities as well as diversified economic activities which the peasant owns or controls.

Those successful farm workers who shift from reproductive spending to the formation and accumulation of capital are by no means unique in their efforts to diversify their economic activities. In the mountainous interior, away from the tourist areas and larger cities, agriculture remains a strong economic base from which the Jamaican peasant branches out into other, nonagricultural or semiagricultural, economic activities. In addition to their wealth of access to social resources and their tendency to utilize social resources, a high commitment to agriculture as both an investment, cash cropping enterprise and a subsistence operation characterizes 85.7 of the farm workers who have accumulated capital.

Table 6-9
Agricultural Commitment Among Farm Workers who have Accumulated Capital (n=21)

	Absolute frequency	Percent of total
High commitment	18	85.7
Low commitment	3	14.3

The information in this table is based on the fact that the high commitment farm workers tend to plant nearly

every cash crop their knowledge and access to ecozones will allow, maintain high personal inputs of labor into the farming enterprise as well as hire additional labor, utilize all marketing options, are sensitive to market fluctuations, and usually seek credit and agricultural extension information (see table 6-7, column 1). Like their total range of economic activity, their farming systems tend to be complex, diversified, changing. All raise livestock or have at one time, utilizing the savings generated from such operations to fund land purchases, hire labor, meet fertilizer and pesticide costs, buy seed and so on. This strategy of cross-financing within agricultural production activities occupies a central position in their overall economic lives. Although they nearly always verbally insist that they "only do farmin'," persistent observation and repeated visits reveal that these men rarely specialize in farming alone. In addition to working in the U.S., these farm workers, prior to participation, sought wage labor opportunities in Jamaica during the times of year their farm labor requirements were low, usually quitting these jobs when their farms needed their labor, managerial skill, social connections, and entrepreneurial abilities. In some cases they kept these jobs either because the pay was good (as in the alien labor program) or because they had some specific purchase in mind.

Through farming and part time wage labor, gradually these farm workers have been able to move into other economic activities. In descending order of importance, these other enterprises include various forms of merchandising (higglering, opening grocery stores, street vending, selling goods from their homes, etc.), entertainment (bars, catering services and dance halls), transportation (operating taxis, minibuses, and trucks for hauling), manufacturing (handicrafts, frozen confections, clothes, shoes, etc.), repair serivices (automobile, clothing, shoes, etc.), and running small businesses which utilize previous skills, usually in the construction industry (masonry and carpentry) (see table 6-6).

Within each of these economic activities, including agriculture, a wide variety of social relations come into play in the production process. These are flexible and make it possible for a single household to combine up to four or five of these activites, including wage labor and peasant farming (cf. Painter, 1981). Often, the relative importance of one activity in relation to the others in changes, and these changes affect changes in prevailing social relations both within and between households. It is also noteworthy that diversification into nonagricultural enterprises, besides wage labor, is a Jamaican ideal which materializes successfully for relatively few households. That is, although most peasants have at one time in their

lives attempted to combine agriculture, wage labor and one or two other nonagricicultural enterprises in the total household production process, it is most often the case that these nonagricultural economic activities never reach a viable income level and fail.

Quite often the attempt to move into nonagricultural economic activities consists of no more than buying cartons of cigarettes for J$22 and selling them for 15 cents each, making a net profit of J$8/carton. Merchandising, or buying for resale, is the most common nonagricultural economic activity undertaken by the Jamaican peasntry. In all, 37% of all four or more season farm workers' households are involved in some form of merchandising (see table 6-6, row 4, column 2). This enterprise is dominated by, but not restricted to, women. Its most widely practices and most thoroughly studied form is higglering, which is intimately tied to agricultural production, usually, but which is nevertheless a nonagricultural economic activity. Higglers, by and large, come directly from the Jamaican peasantry. In separate studies by Mintz (1957) and Katzin (1959, 1971), the system of higglering in Jamaica has been characterized as an ecologically efficient means of distributing foods and other goods throughout the island, with high labor and low capital inputs and broad based participation which effectively serves to redistribute wealth as well as spread information

(economic, political and other) throughout the island. Merchandising however covers a wide variety of economic activity, including higglering, and farm workers sometimes purchase U.S. goods to either begin merchandising operations or expand them. For example, motorcycles have been purchased by a number of farm workers and in most cases these become capital goods, as opposed to consumer goods, in Jamaica. With a motorcycle a farm worker can take advantage of regional crop and commodity specialization, taking goods from his area to areas where such goods are scarce and returning home with goods which are scarce in his area, marking up prices at both ends. Arbitrage businesses can be facilitated with other goods purchased in the United States, such as freezers which reduce loss due to spoilage in the case of perishable commodities. These kinds of transactions are common in Jamaica and often rely on specific or localized markets such as the tourists. While marijuana can be sold throughout the island, for example, the prices in the interior are far lower there than on the coast, where tourists will pay as much as ten times for marijuana as Jamaicans, often paying in more versatile foreign currencies.

Another extremely common form of merchandising, one which is seen as a goal by many Jamaican households, is opening a rum shop which provides both grocery store and

bar services as well as, usually, entertainment. Like house construction, these shops may take three to four years to complete and stock. Rum shops, like elaborate housing, constitute a source of prestige among the Jamaican peasantry, yet they are quite often characterized by boom and bust cycles. Competition is stiff. It is common to find three or four rum shops within one hundred yards of one another, and insuring a regular clientelle involves taking advantage of and reinforcing existing friendship ties, sometimes through extending credit (although this very rarely involves large amounts). Here again, the farm worker's access to U.S. goods can increase his competitive edge. With the purchase of a freezer or a sound system he can stock a wider variety of goods or draw customers to his shop with music. A freezer can also be used to manufacture frozen confections called "suck sucks," similar to popsicles. In an article discussing returning migrants to Spain, Rhodes (1978) tells us that these kinds of businesses are common among returning migrants and nearly always are funded with money earned through migration. Joshua Reichert (1981) finds similar uses among Michoacan, Mexico, migrants returning from legal and illegal migration to the U.S. Both men question the soundness of such investments as profitable business enterprises, noting the stiff competition from a high number of other, similar or

identical, businesses. The Jamaican findings further support this contention.

The final nonagricultural business I shall discuss in some detail here is transportation. Transportation is a booming industry in Jamaica and the utilization of a car or truck for moving people and goods around the island can generate substantial income. Carrying passengers tends to be more lucrative than trucking goods, but neither are subject to the stiff competition characterizing rum shops. On Fridays and Saturdays in particular, the marketing days, the demand for vehicles is generally adequately supplied, but it is rare for these vehicles to have empty seats and common for people who desire rides into town to have to wait. During the rest of the week business slacks off, but the connections between town and countryside in Jamaica are strong enough to facilitate a steady, though reduced, supply of passengers. The amount of income generated by a taxi service varies according to the route, which are assigned by the Ministry of Transportation, type of vehicle, the relations between customers and the driver and so on. These net incomes can range from between J$20,000 to J$50,000 per year for taxi owners and J$75,000 to J$125,000 per year for minibus owners. Few minibus owners come from the peasantry, since minibuses tend to cost upwards of J$25,000. However, it is not uncommon for taxi owners to come from the peasantry, remaining tied to the

peasantry through social relations yet beginning to adopt many of the economic behaviors of the Jamaican rural petty bourgeousie.

Again, overhead costs can be reduced in the transportation industry by having connections in tax assessing and licensing offices or by connections with local police, paying out bribes instead of official fees. During my stay in Jamaica, however, the Minister of Transportation began restricting imports of vehicles, and recent JLP legislation threatens to further impede the development of this industry by restricting licensing and levying heavier taxes. The restrictions imposed on this industry and on merchandising (Stone, 1983) are currently being used as political propoganda by the opposing PNP members, since transportation and merchandising constitute two nonagricultural industries traditionally utilized by the Jamaican peasantry.

Although the incidence of farm workers importing vehicles as large as cars or trucks is rare (I heard of only one case of this, and no farm workers in my sample had done so), farm workers can utilize savings to purchase cars and trucks in Jamaica. This is costly initially, for high import duties on automobiles drive up their costs. It is difficult to purchase a reliable automobile for under J$3000. However, extremely long term farm workers with ten or more seasons are often capable of such purchases after

household related expenses have been taken care of. Twelve percent of all four or more season farm workers have purchased vehicles (including motorcycles) with U.S. earnings (see table 6-6, row 3, column 2). Also, farm workers who own vehicles and who are still participating in the program have access to lower cost, and wider varieties of, automotive parts in the U.S. Jamaicans are not the only peasants who are currently diversifying into the transportation industry. Lagos (1983) is currently conducting research in Bolivia among truckers who are usually also peasant farmers. These peasant truckers utilize relations with other peasants in their communities to enter into contractual relations and sharecropping arrangements for the production of crops which they see as highly marketable and which they will truck to market. Long and Richardson have found that the transportation industry is a common nonagricultural industry among Peruvian peasants as well (1978).

The diversification into nonagricultural economic activities allows for a great deal of mutual reinforcement between these industries. The opportunities for agricultural production to aid in the financing, development and success of these industries are numerous. Higglering is a logical outgrowth of crops production, as are arbitrage transaction businesses. Transporting goods and passengers around the Jamaican countryside can be

combined with both agricultural marketing and with the stocking of rural rum shops without greatly increased labor inputs. Automotive repair services evolve out of the ownership and continued operation of one's own vehicle. By the same token, automotive repair skills lead to the acquisition of one's own vehicle at a reduced cost. Freezers used in rum shops to widen the variety of goods for sale are used to manufacture frozen confections and store goods from arbitrage transactions.

Given that a single household may diversify into two or three enterprises, it is not surprising that there is considerable cross-financing going on, with farm production subsidizing rum shops or transport businesses and vice versa. The strategy of diversification also affects the allocation of tasks and labor within the household and, for those households whose commitment to agriculture remains high, seasonal cycles affect the labor time devoted to the operation of these and other enterprises. From an economic anthropological perspective, however, the most interesting aspect of the strategy of economic diversification involve the nature of the resulting social change. Here again, however, it is important to point out that the farm workers' participation in the program, while enhancing these processes, do not cause them. The following discussion, then, should be nderstood not as a comparison between farm workers and other peasant households, but as a

description of the nature of social change which can occur as a result of Jamaican peasant households accumulating capital and attempting to diversify and expand production. The farm workers' access to U.S. earnings and goods in some cases has helped them accumulate capital, and has helped fuel changes occuring within the peasantry.

Differentiation and Change in Rural Jamaica

Three dimensions of the process of differentiation resulting from capital accumulation will be dealt with here: 1) within the rural peasant household; 2) between rural peasant households; and 3) between rural peasant households, the state and capitalists. Throughout this discussion it is necessary to keep in mind that, due to the complexity of social relations involved in the process of socioeconomic differentiation and social change, distinctions between peasants and capitalists at times become blurred. The general point is that the transformations taking place are not unilineal in nature, with peasants automatically adopting production social relations which characterize capitalists. These transformations involve, rather, combinations of social relations which draw upon peasant social relations, depending heavily on unpaid household labor, maintaining cooperative relations with other households (often

superficially), practicing clientellism for markets and supplies of labor and raw materials, and which also utilize more depersonalized wage labor social relations (cf. Wolf and Mintz,1957). In addition to this the changes are often temporary, as one (or more) of the household's economic activities fails, overshadows the others and so on. Despite this complexity, some general trends emerge.

Changes Within the Peasant Household

Within the peasant household, as economic diversification and capital accumulation take place, the social relations between household members tend to change in two general ways. First, the managerial functions of both the male and female household heads become more pronounced and they exert more control over the other family members with regard to the allocation of labor, at the same time limiting, or attempting to limit, their participation in economic activities which will not benefit the household. Increased control over family members in the coordination of an economically diversified household results in increased specialization of tasks on the part of family members. For example, one seventeen season farm worker who had succeeded in utilizing U.S. earnings for farm expansion, the building and stocking of a rum shop (with a sound system and a freezer) and the purchase of a

pick-up truck divided up the tasks in the family as follows. The male household head (the farm worker) divided his time between all the enterprises, but unequally, spending most of his time and labor on the farming, overseeing the trucking business second (which carried goods to market for other peasants in the area), and, finally, monitoring business at the rum shop. His two eldest sons worked with him on the farm, spending little or no time with the other two enterprises, and his third eldest son was the principal driver and mechanic for the truck, devoting little or no time to farming or to the operation of the rum shop. The rum shop was primarily the responsibility of the female household head, along with their eldest daughter. The rum shop and the house sit side by side and, although the female household head could oversee the management of the household and the care of the youngest child, these tasks had become the responsibility of a younger daughter and the fourth youngest son. It is noteworthy in this case that the three eldest sons, although in their early to middle twenties, had not yet set up their own households, instead remaining at home to contribute to the family businesses.

I do not, unfortunately, have detailed quantitative data concerning the proportionate income of each of these activities, nor the actual distribution of earnings among family members. However, although household members are

not paid in the form of direct wages, some portion of the income generated by the transportation business is utilized by the third eldest son for his personal expenses, and some portion of the farm income is utilzed by the two eldest sons for their personal expenses. According to both household heads, the rum shop and the portion of the farm nearest the house and shop, consisting of a one and one-half acre plot, will serve as the primary sources of income when the household heads become too old to actively oversee all the production processes.

Although there does tend to be labor specialization such as that described above in households with diversified economic activities, the entire family can be and in fact are utilized when the seasonal farm requirements become heavy or one of the other enterprises demands high labor inputs. The specialization which occurs among family members, therefore, retains a measure of flexibility (cf. Painter, 1981). This flexibility is adaptive in an environment where the success of the household's economic activities may at any time be easily undermined by competition or by state regulation.

Changes Between Peasant Households

The changes which occur in the social relations between peasant households are the most telling in terms of

the overall direction of social change among the Jamaican peasantry. A change in social relations between socioeconomically unequal households, especially when the change is permanent, often involves the subordination of poorer households' members to the production processes of wealthier households.

By far the most common incidence of this is the tendency among Jamaican peasants to withdraw from cooperative labor arrangements, partially or fully, and hire wage labor for all phases of agricultural and petty commodity goods and services production. This process takes two general forms, one more permanent that the other. First, there are those farm workers' households who shift from cooperative labor to hiring labor only during the years that they travel, while they have the extra cash to hire, and then returning to cooperative labor arrangements once their travel to the U.S. ends. As noted in the discussion concerning the generation of employment by remittances, this process includes around 73.5% of the peasant farmer farm workers (see table 4-7). However, the temporary shift from cooperative to hired labor does not always involve the subordination of one households' members to the production of the hiring household. That is, hiring which goes on between households of more or less the same socioeconomic status is often reciprocal and hence is actually disguised exchanged labor.

The second form this process takes is a more permanent withdrawal from cooperative labor arrangements and concommitant increase in reliance on hired labor, as well as unpaid or underpaid family labor. This withdrawal can be either full or partial, depending on the nature of the economic activity and its prospects for success. That is, often peasants will remain involved in cooperative labor and other services networks, utilizing these when cash is scarce. Or they will utilize these relations to assure a regular clientelle for enterprises such as rum shops or transport businesses. On numerous occasions, for example, I experienced peasants passing up rides into town from one taxi driver to patronize another with whom they had some sort of friendship or kinship ties. These kinds of social relations, maintained to assure regular customers, are of course widespread and common in capitalist enterprises as well as among peasants. Sometimes, however, these social relations are maintained not only through offering reliable and pleasant service, as Wendy's Hamburgers advertisements claim, but also making somewhat token contributions of one's labor to the farm of another.

Whether withdrawal from cooperative labor arrangements is full or partial, if it is permanent it always corresponds with the increased formation and accumulation of capital. The reason for the correspondence between capital accumulation and increased reliance on hired as

opposed to cooperative labor is that, with high labor requirements of larger farms or diverse economic activities, the resource-controlling household does not have the time to pay back all the labor which it needs to run its own enterprises. In addition, the increased managerial functions of the economically diversified or larger farm households make increased control over the labor necessary. Peasants who were involved in cooperative labor arrangements were continually complaining that cooperative labor was far less reliable than hired labor, and my own observations confirmed this. Cooperative laborers tended to show up for work late, leave work early, and not work as hard on the job. They also would occasionally question the production decisions of the peasant on whose farm they were working. Hired workers, on the other hand, put in a full hard day's work, and performed tasks without question, leaving the managerial decisions up to their employer.

The result of this withdrawal from cooperative labor arrangements is that the households which supply labor to the hiring household become subordinate to the hiring household in the sense that they must tailor their own economic enterprises around the needs of the hiring household. That is, the labor-supplying households most often supply the labor of the male household head, thus depriving the household of labor which could be utilized

for production on the farm as well as for participation in cooperative labor networks. Because day laborers are always drawn from the same ecological area, the day laborer's household loses his labor and access to cooperative labor during the time of year when his farm, like the hiring farm, need these resources the most. In addition, the relations between the hiring household and the labor-supplying household generally retain a degree of familiarity which assures the labor-supplying household with part-time wage work and assures the hiring household with one or more reliable day laborers. Unlike capitalist enterprises, which tend to draw labor from an impersonal pool of workers, the hiring households and the labor-supplying households tend to have personalized relationships. In some cases this familiarity between the households results in the hiring household allowing the labor-supplying household to cultivate a portion of the hiring household's land rent-free. This situation often has hidden benefits for the hiring household. First, this further binds the day laborer to the labor needs of the hiring household, increasing the day laborer's reliability during the very times of year when his farm labor requirements are, like the hiring household's, high, and hence during the time of year that the day laborer is least likely to be reliable due to his own household's needs. Second, rent-free plots of land are often plots which

require some clearing or on which the hiring household is growing tree crops which benefit from the day laborer's fertilizers. Although there are mutually beneficial aspects to arrangements such as these, the benefits which accrue to the day laborer are fewer than those which accrue to the hiring household.

Another means by which successful farm workers' households as well as wealthier households have been able to subordinate other households to their own production processes involves the acquisition of productive resources which all peasant farmers need to produce and market crops and livestock. On a small scale, this involves buying such tools as motor-powered spray pumps (for spraying pesticides) or beasts of burden, and lending these tools to other farmers in return for labor. On a somewhat larger scale, this involves the ownership of a truck, exchanging transport services (for passengers or produce) for cash payments or for labor. Finally, sometimes this simply involves buying land, dividing it up into smaller parcels from one square chain to an acre in size, and renting out these parcels to other peasants for houseplots or for crops production. Payment for the use of this land can be made in cash or can involve a kind of service tenure arrangement, where the renting household provides the land-owning household with labor, clears the land, or improves it in other ways (terracing, ditching, etc.).

These kinds of arrangements, however, rarely involve the complete dependence of the renting household on the land-owning household, as perhaps characterized feudal lords of the middle ages or 20th century haciendas (Wolf and Mintz, 1957). This is because the renting household will most often farm land under other tenurial arrangements elsewhere. Also, as I mentioned in an earlier chapter, "capturing" land or squatting on land has been common since the decline of the old landed gentry banana planters. Finally, cash rates for land rentals tend not to be very high, ranging from between J$20 to J$30 per acre per year.

Changes Between Peasants, the State and Capitalists

What is most telling about the development of these landlord-tenant relationships is that they usually involve a broad base of support outside of the peasantry which is cultivated by the land-owning household. For example, one nine season farm worker succeeded in acquiring a three-acre piece of land by utilizing a number of social resources, including the IRDP, an area bank and a local lawyer. In 1979, following his last season in the United States, he moved from a nearby parish, where he owned six acres of family land planted in tree crops and a house, into the Two Meetings Watershed. He rented out his house to a man in an arrangement whereby the man would care for the tree crops

in return for the use of the house. Just prior to the move, the farm worker purchased a one and three-quarter acre plot of land and a house in the watershed with his U.S. earnings. Immediately after the move he sought aid from the IRDP to improve the land in the watershed, building terraces and planting pine trees. During this time he secured the services of a lawyer to locate the title to the land he had purchased in the watershed. Using the title on the improved land as collateral, he secured a loan from a local bank and purchased the three-acre piece of land, farming one acre and renting out the other two.

The above example is typical of the kinds of social relations which develop between these more successful peasant households, the state and capitalists. It is, of course, nothing more than a specific example of the broader phenomenon of the utilization of social resources which characterize those farm workers who are able to make the shift from reproductive spending to capital formation and accumulation and growth-oriented production. These relationships can be interpreted as social class alliances between peasants, the state and capitalists which appear to contain the seeds of social change. That is, these more successful farm workers and other peasants, securing loans, hiring lawyers, seeking and receiving development aid, seem to be moving in the direction of a fundamental structural change in the social and economic relations between this

segment of the peasantry and the state and capitalists. My understanding of structural change is that it constitutes a change in the manner in which two or more segments of a society relate to one another, the two segments in this case being the state-capitalist alliance and the peasantry.

Perhaps the most difficult question to address with regard to this apparent process concerns the distinction beween peasants and capitalists. That is, do the changes occurring in rural Jamaica, changes partially but not primarily fueled by participation in the alien labor program, constitute no more than peasants transforming into capitalists and subsequently joining the state-capitalist alliance and its socioeconomic classes? Certainly these more successful peasants have adopted many of he behavioral characteristics which characterize capitalist production. They utilize and manipulate the existing social relations in order to accumulate capital and market their products. They use their status as owners and controllers of capital to both gain access to more capital and to assure themselves of the labor power of less fortunate households. They benefit from and take advantage of low wage rates, and low wages assure them of always being able to extract surplus value from the labor power of day laborers. They compete for raw materials and markets. They reinvest profits into their businesses, expand by diversifying, and they tend to be oriented toward growth. Are they, then,

that much different from capitalists as to necessitate a different analytical category? Surely some peasants have transformed into capitalists both behaviorally and ideologically, but two factors in particular undermine an argument of such a unilineal transformation.

First and foremost is the tendency among these peasants to combine essentially peasant social relations with capitalist social relations in the production process, in particular their continued reliance on the family as a labor source, but also their partial reliance on cooperative networks not only for production but for marketing as well (e.g., building a pool of regular customers for a rum shop or a transport service). Because of the continued reliance on family labor, the production processes and the success or failure of those processes remains intimately tied to the natural or biological growth of the household. This characteristic suggests that these households who have accumulated capital are still firmly entrenched in peasant social relations, the underlying logic of which is to provide for the reproduction and social security needs of the peasantry (Meillasoux, 1972: 101-102). Decisions to diversify or expand necessarily include the labor availability and the skills within the peasant household, its relationships with other peasant households, and its relations with the state and capitalists.

The second feature distinguishing these peasant economic activities from capitalist ones arises from the qualitative nature of their relationships with the state-capitalist alliance. Because their enterprises are small scale and because they are highly susceptible to boom and bust cycles which undermine their assurances for success, the relationships between these households and banks, merchants, market administrators, politicians and so on remain decidedly unequal. Compared to merchants, bankers, industrialists and others, who belong to Rotary clubs and maintain strong political connections (typically, Ministers of Parliament are also wealthy businessmen), these more successful peasant households have little or no political power. Their relationships with the state and capitalists are not class relationships in the sense of either the political power of banking and big business or big labor bargaining with big capital in the context of trade unions. These relationships between peasants and the state-capitalist alliance are, rather, individual relationships which sometimes materialize into the household and its members joining the capitalist bourgeousie at the lower levels. Still, in hard economic times, even these successful peasants continue to sell their own labor power to capitalists, both in Jamaica and in the U.S. Finally, these farm workers who accumulate capital come from the peasantry and maintain their

association with the peasantry as a source of livelihood when and if their economic endeavors fail.

In some senses, then, although still intimately tied to the peasantry, these successful households demonstrate signs of an emergent petty bourgeousie, or a capitalist class controlling small scale capital. The word "emergent" is, however, somewhat misleading, because of their tenuous ties with more powerful political and economic groups in Jamaica. Whether or not their political and economic interests coincide with the interests of the state-capitalist alliance depend less on their needs and desires, as a "class", than on the needs and desires of the more politically powerful, historically stronger capitalist bourgeousie in Jamaica.

The behavior of these farm workers is important to examine because they are people who come from peasant backgrounds, who maintain strong ties with the peasantry and peasant agriculture for social security purposes, yet who seem to be moving out of the peasantry in their economic activity. I am quick to point out that Jamaican peasants have always been open to outside influences, and in this sense they are probably not representative of peasants all over the world. However, as I have said before, Migdal has argued that closed communities are finding it more difficult to remained closed with the increasing penetration of capitalism into rural areas of

underdeveloped countries. They are sometimes able to slow the pace of this penetration, as Painter has found (1981), but they are nevertheless affected by it. Because of this, Jamaican peasants may be more representative of peasants today than they were in the past, and they offer us clues to the ways in which segments of peasant populations deal with the increased penetration of capitalism into the countryside.

Finally, it must be remembered that these farm workers who have accumulated capital have been able to do so at least in part because of their prolonged participation in the alien labor program. They represent a very small segment of the peasantry and one which has access to a particular opportunity of working for high wages abroad and having access to U.S. goods which help them run their businesses. These findings suggest that, although the peasantry remains strong in Jamaica, the increasing penetration of capitalism can be used by segments within this mode to acculate capital and expand their economic activities. It also must be remembered that their positions are by no means secure. In light of recent JLP legislation designed to further restrict merchandising and transportation (Stone, 1983), as well as agricultural development targeting larger, capitalist farms rather than peasant farms, evidently the Seaga regime's interests do not coincide with these enterprising rural households.

One major point to be derived from the discussion in this chapter is that the U.S. earnings and access to goods of the farm workers can be used to enhance economic activities which are common means by which Jamaican peasants (and Jamaican rural petty bourgeousie) attempt to improve their lives. I stress again, as I have previously, that prolonged participation in the program seems not to cause these behaviors, but rather to aid in production increases and economic diversification strategies. The important thing to realize here is that those farm workers who have accumulated capital represent a small percentage of the total population, but a somewhat larger percentage of the population of four or more season farm workers (see table 6-5) The following table, based on data collected by McCoy and Wood (1982), shows that only around one third of the Jamaican farm workers work four or more seasons and that the percentages fall steadily thereafter.

Table 6-10
Percentages of Farm Workers Working Four or More Seasons
(n=206)

Number of seasons	percent of population
4 or more	37.4
5 or more	25.7
6 or more	18.4
7 or more	16
8 or more	12.6

Table 6-10 -- continued

9 or more	9.2
10 or more	7.3
11 or more	5.8
12 or more	3.4
13 or more	2.9
14 or more	2.4
15 or more	2.4
16 or more	1.9

On the average, the chances are that if a farm worker is not washed out of the program in the first year, he will work a total of five or six seasons. This means that most farm workers will be washed out of the program either prior to or around the time they begin to shift from reproductive spending to capital accumulation and growth.

CHAPTER VII
CONCLUSION

Summary of Findings

This study assessed the impact of the British West Indies Temporary Alien Labor Program on the Jamaican peasantry. The intention has been to determine whether the farm workers who migrate seasonally to the United States contribute to the development of Jamaica by using their U.S. earnings to acquire and accumulate capital. This was accomplished by comparing a sample population of farm workers who have participated in the program to a sample population of Jamaican peasant households whose members have not had equivalent migration experiences. Contrary to the developmental impact used to justify the alien labor program by U.S. growers and legislators, this study has shown that the majority of farm workers who participate in the program do not earn enough income in the United States to enable them to accumulate capital in Jamaica, to significantly expand their farms or other productive enterprises, nor to lay the economic bases for future capital accumulation which might result in higher standards of living among the farm workers. The major finding that

the farm workers' households and farms do not significantly differ from the households and farms of Jamaican peasants who have not had equivalent migration experiences suggests that the program does not cause long-term improvements in the standards of living of those who participate in the program.

Although the findings of this study suggest that the program does not lead to development in Jamaica, the program does contain some benefits for those involved. Through remittances and compulsory savings, the program generates foreign exchange for Jamaica. Second, the households of the farm workers (those in which they reside and those with which they have connections through outside children, parents, or other kinship or friendship ties) benefit by increasing their levels of consumption while the farm workers travel to the United States. By the same token, the farm workers themselves are usually able to at least begin and sometimes complete construction of houses by virtue of their participation in the program. Third, because women manage the farm workers' farms while they are gone and tend to use remitted money to hire workers for agricultural production, the U.S. earnings generated by the program create some employment in Jamaica. The character of that employment -- part-tme jobs for peasants who hire themselves out as day laborers -- also helps these day laboring peasants meet their own expenses during the times

year that they need cash income for the operation of their own farms. Not only do these remittances contribute to the generation of employment in Jamaica and provide day laborers with cash, that these remittances are used in part to subsidize agricultural production on the migrants' farms suggests that agricultural production remains stable while the farm workers are in the U.S. and hence participation in the program has no deleterious effects on Jamaican peasant agriculture. Fourth, the program provides work and income for between six and seven thousand men annually. By providing these men with work and income, the program reduces pressure on competition for employment in Jamaica, as well as possibly reducing pressure on such things as credit, agricultural extension services, and other social services these men might utilize were they to remain jobless in Jamaica. Finally, although this study primarily concerns the program's impact on the sending country, in the U.S., beneficiaries of this program include those apple and sugar growers who utilize Jamaican labor and the merchants of the communities near the labor camps which house the workers. The apple and sugar growers are assured a willing, reliable, docile labor force, and some of the merchants in South Florida receive nearly all of their business from the BWI workers.

Despite these benefits, an important finding is that the households of the farm workers do not significantly

differ from the households of Jamaican peasants who have never participated in this program or in similar seasonal, international labor migration programs. Even in such areas as housing, where the farm workers spend a good portion of their money, the farm worker population does not own proportionately more houses than the control population (see table 6-1). I consider this the study's major finding because not only does it show that the program has no developmental impact on the Jamaican peasantry, it also suggests that participation in the program ulitmately provides no more of an opportunity to most Jamaican peasants than the opportunities (or lack of opportunities) which exist in the Jamaican countryside. Although there are some short-term benefits, a farm worker who participated in the program has as much opportunity to improve his life chances, his households' standards of living, his ability to generate employment or achieve higher production levels, by remaining in Jamaica.

Because of this finding, the second contribution of this study consists of explaining why these farm workers' households do not differ from other Jamaican peasant households. The reasons for explaining this lack of differences are important. First, the farm workers' U.S. incomes are at least three times as high as the per capita earnings for all of Jamaica (The World Bank, 1982), and fifteen times as high as USAID estimates of the annual

incomes (US$200) of most Jamaican peasant farming households (Goldschmidt and Blustain, 1982). Second, because the household is capable of keeping agricultural production stable during the farm workers' absence, participation in the program appears to have no effect which might require additional income to compensate for the farm worker's absence. This suggests that there are little or no opportunity costs involved with participating in the program. Third, although a minority, some farm workers have been able to accumulate capital with money earned in the U.S. (see tables 6-5 and 6-6), and a very few have been able to begin small merchandising and transportation businesses which generate employment and provide their households with independence from wage labor. This suggests that the incomes of the farm workers (in particular those who whork for four seasons or longer) are indeed sufficient to engineer purchases of capital goods which could contribute to Jamaican development. Given these findings, it became necessary to explain why the vast majority of farm workers do not utilize their U.S. earnings for the formation and accumulation of capital and therefore do not demonstrate greater production levels or different economic strategies than other peasant households.

I explained this lack of differences between the two populations by considering the social structural and the socioeconomic environments in which Jamaican peasants

operate, and by coordinating this information with the dynamics of the alien labor program. The principal reasons why farm workers are not able to accumulate capital with their U.S. earnings arise from the nature of Jamaican peasant social structure. That is, Jamaican peasant social structure is characterized by a great deal of interdependence between peasant households which comes about by unstable male/female relationships resulting in men and women having children by more than one mate. While children tend to remain living with their mothers, men are responsible for children who live with them and also for their children who live in other households. Between generations, parent and children households usually retain a high level of interdependence as well, a fact which is clearly evident in that mothers are the second most common category of remittance recipients (see table 5-1). These relations between peasant households, I have pointed out again and again in the above discussion, are adaptive in the Jamaican countryside because they provide social security to great numbers of people in a country were no such social security is povided by state welfare systems. However, the effect of these relations between households is that the farm worker, as a member of a diffuse social network involving three or more households, must spend a good deal of his earnings on the maintenance of the households with which he has connections. With so many

individuals drawing upon his overseas earnings, it is difficult for him to consolidate his wealth, to save, to withhold money from immediate consumption and invest, or to accumulate capital. The necessity of considering first the maintenance of the households results in large portions of farm workers' earnings being used to finance purchases of house and garden plots and to finance house construction and expansion. The farm worker's earnings, consumed by the households he is a part of, simply serve to maintain and reproduce those households.

The tendency of Jamaican peasants to cultivate and reinforce these diffuse social networks is also seen in the behavior of remittance recipients. Female recipients of remittances tend to spend remittances, directly and indirectly, on the children, keeping agricultural production stable and using produce to meet the household's nutritional requirements. Again in this context, the earnings of the farm workers tend to be used for the maintenance and reproduction of their households.

The importance of maintaining these diffuse social networks not only affects the dispostion of earnings which make it back to Jamaica, but this, in combination with the life cycle stage during which most men participate in the program, also accounts for the expenditure behaviors of migrants in the U.S., where they use around 40% of their

gross earnings to purchase U.S. goods, primarily clothes and shoes (see tables 4-22, 4-23 and 4-24).

In addition to the effect of Jamaican peasant social structure on the farm workers' earnings, the nature of peasant economic activity also results in drawing upon the farm workers' earnings in ways which mitigate the chances of farm workers to accumulate capital. That is, it is common for Jamaican peasants, farm workers or not, to spread their economic risks by diversifying their production strategies, both by planting a wide variety of crops and raising livestock and by diversifying into nonagricultural production activities. Such a strategy is by no means restricted to peasants, but is quite common among people operating at a subsistence level of production and common as well among people in all walks of life who give economic security more importance than the possiblity of taking risks to potentially make large profits. Diversification within agriculture among a peasantry is also necessary to assure a nutritionally sound diet.

The net result of these social structural and socioeconomic factors at work within the Jamaican peasantry is that the majority of farm workers' earnings are used for consumption instead of investment or capital formation and accumulation. The earnings therefore tend to be used for the maintenance of the farm workers' households and facilitate the eventual reproduction of these households.

This assertion does not mean that the alien labor program, or participation in the program, in any way causes these social structural or socioeconomic situations, which are more properly viewed as the outcome of longstanding historical processes. The point of this study is not to unravel these historical relations, but to determine how the alien labor program affects them. Clearly, the expenditure behavior of the majority of the farm workers serves to reinforce these social security networks, relations between households, and economic diversification strategies. Reinforcing these networks, relations, and strategies, the earnings of the farm workers contribute to their reproduction. Because these social conditions serve to spread income rather than to allow its consolidation and use for capital accumulation and investment, the earnings of the farm workers thus contribute to the reproduction of the social conditions in which their households operate. This means that participation in the program does little to reduce the need of Jamaican peasants, or more specifically the need of ther farm workers' replacement generation, to engage in wage labor as a means to supplement imcome.

At this point one could question whether or not the farm workers earn sufficient incomes to invest or to acquire and accumulate capital in a socioeconomic environment, such as Jamaica's, characterized by a paucity of investment or business opportunities. In fact, the

third contribution of this study has been to show the various ways in which Jamaican peasants who participate in the program have been able to utilize their U.S. earnings to begin or enhance small business ventures in Jamaica. This small-scale capital accumulation occurs only among those workers who have worked in the program for four or more seasons, and usually begins with initially expanding the household's agricultural base and then diversifying into nonagricultural production activities, most notable merchandising and transportation. This study has shown that these farm workers have personal histories of attempts to accumulate capital prior to participation in the program, and that their participation in the program does not cause this entrepreneurial behavior. This entrepreneurial behavior is characterized by a tendency to utilize the social resources of Jamaica, and by households combining a variety of social relations to produce goods and services and to keep or expand markets for these goods and services. This results in changes within the peasant household, between peasant households, and between peasant households, the state and capitalists, sometimes resulting in peasant households joining the Jamaican petty bourgeousie. Unfortunately, for whatever subjective or objective reasons U.S. companies decide to terminate the participation of the farm workers, the data from Wood's and McCoy's (1982) South Florida study show that only 37% of

the workers participate four or more seasons and thereafter the proportion drops steadily to around 2% working sixteen or more seasons (see table 6-10).

Implications for Theory and Development

In the introduction to this work I stated that a central issue in the study of return migration's impact on the sending countries was whether or not returning migrants significantly contribute to their home countries' economic development through the formation and accumulation of capital. At the risk of oversimplifying, studies influenced by microeconomics predict that migrants returning from developed to underdeveloped countries will contribute to their home countries' economic development not only by capital formation and accumulation but also through the acquisition of skills, knowledge, and information in the developed area (Spengler and Myers, 1977; OEDC, 1978):

> Upon their return, repatriates serve as agents of change by applying the ideas and skills acquired abroad to establish farms, businesses, and other enterprises conducive to development. According to the equilibrium model, the international movement of labor thus leads to a gradual convergence in the levels of economic growth and social well-being. (Wood, 1982: 301)

As in the case of the BWI Temporary Alien Labor program, these assumptions are often used to justify the continued

utilization of labor of underdeveloped countries by industries in developed countries. This has contributed to the formation of programs such as the one discussed here, as well as the European guestworker programs and the increasing phenomenon of the "internationalization of labor" (Portes and Walton, 1981: 189-191).

Critics of this perspective on return migration point out that microeconomic studies tend to focus too exclusively on the individual as the primary unit of analysis, ignoring historical and broader social and ecnomic factors which 1) reduce the range of opportunities available to the returning migrants, and 2) reduce the ability of the returning migrant to act on his or her own initiative without regard for the needs and desires of the social group of which s/he is a part (Wood, 1982: 303). Other studies of return migrants have shown that often migrants returning from developed countries have acquired skills which cannot be utilized in their home countries (e.g., King and Strachen, 1980).

The findings of the above study by and large support these criticisms of microeconomic assumptions concerning the impact of return migration on the sending countries. Clearly, the Jamaicans who participate in the program acquire few skills and little knowledge or information which can be put to economically beneficial use in the Jamaican countryside. Also, the farm workers' membership

in diffuse social networks certainly reduces their chances to consider investments which might benefit them individually, or even benefit the households they reside in, at the expense of both acknowledging past and cultivating future sources of social security. Finally, although some farm workers have found investment areas within the Jamaican economy, the majority are faced with high-risk opportunities.

An alternative set of assumptions concerning the impact of return migration come from the diffuse theories and prespectives influenced by the writings of Marx, which Wood has grouped together in the category of "the historical-structural perspective" (1982: 301). Again at the risk of oversimplifying, this perspective conceives of international labor migration as a process of transferring value from a social unit characterized by underdeveloped means of production to a social unit characterized by developed means of production. This process is accomplished by means of complex historical relations between units (e.g., social classes, modes of production, core and periphery countries) within an interdependent social formation. From this perspective, the decisions of individual migrants to migrate and their decisions concerning the uses of their skills and incomes upon returning home can be explained and understood only by an understanding of the broader social unit of which the

the individual is a part and its historical relationships with other social units which utilize the migrant's social unit as a source of labor power.

In the analysis of labor migration among peasants, we would pay attention to the process by which peasant survival strategies serve to feed and raise children and thereby create a commodity (i.e., labor power), and how that commodity is utilized within capitalist industries (i.e., as wage labor). The surplus value is extracted by capitalist industries and the wages from this process are transferred back to the peasantry and used, not to create surplus value, but to meet household subsistence requirements and thereby create more labor power by reproducing the work force. Finally, from this perspective, the impact of return migration is not seen as a process of improving the migrants' standards of living or contributing to the development of the sending countries, but rather a process of perpetuating or reorganizing the historical relations between social units in ways which assure a continued supply of labor to capitalist industry.

This study shows that, given the present structure and organization of the alien labor program, the impact of return migration is primarily one of reinforcing social relations which assure that the Jamaican peasantry will remain a willing, reliable, and docile labor force for U.S. agribusiness. However, this study also shows that some of

the social relations reinforced by farm workers' earnings actually give Jamaican peasants a measure of independence from engaging in wage labor. I am referring here to the specific contradiction between low wages made possible by peasants providing for their own subsistence and social security and the relative independence this gives peasants, thus undermining their reliability as wage laborers in Jamaica (cf. Painter, 1981). As discussed in chapter five, they remain a reliable work force for U.S. apple and sugar growers, but in Jamaica they continue to be unreliable as long as wages on the island remain low. Their ability to take and leave these Jamaican employment opportunities with some measure of independence is the result of the very social conditions which facilitated offering low wages in the first place: that is, that peasant households provide the means to maintain and reproduce themselves and take care of their social security needs. Finally, we have seen in this study that some of the longer-term farm workers have been able to accumulate capital and begin or enhance small businesses in Jamaica.

The contribution of this study for the revision of theory lies in considering the data presented above to determine what elements of peasant life affect the impact of return labor migration. First, and most importantly, this study has shown the importance of the relationships between Jamaican peasant social structure and the ultimate

uses of farm workers' earnings. Aspects of peasant social structure account in large part for the findings presented throughout this work. They help explain why few demographic, agricultural production, and socioecnomic differences exist between randomly selected populations of farm workers and other peasant households. The methodological importance of this is that neither the individual nor a unit of analysis as large as a peasantry or social class is the most enlightening unit of analysis to use in studies of return migration. Rather, a household, or in the Jamaican case a group of interdependent households, is a more appropriate unit of analysis. The household (peasant or otherwise) as a primary unit of analysis in migration studies has recently been emphasized by Wood (1981, 1982) as an alternative to individual decision making studies and historical-structural studies, an emphasis that has been reiterated by Pessar (1982). The Jamaican case, however, demonstrates that attention to the internal structure and operation of the household alone is insufficient in understanding peasant behavior. That is, Jamaican peasant social structure can vary and influence behavior along three lines: 1) within the household; 2) between households; and 3) in the household's relations with the state and capitalists.

Second, this study has shown that the economic successes and failures of peasant households tend to be intimately tied to the utilization of the social resources of Jamaican society (e.g., credit institutions, political connections, jobs contracts, etc.). As such, the utilization of earnings by peasant labor migrants depends in part upon the range of social resources available to them. It is thus analytically useful to isolate the social resources available to the peasantry and to determine the ways in which peasants are able to take advantage of them. The importance of analytically isolating social resources and their use by the peasantry lies in the fact that the specific nature of social resource utilization defines the nature of entrepreneurship and the opportunities available to the peasantry, and offers insights into the specific ways in which peasants invest in economic activities in their home countries. Many students of labor migration have begun to reincorporate these patterns of social resource utilization and entreprenuerial activity into their studies (cf. Long, 1977: 77-84). Portes and Walton, for example, conceive of it as a process of network-building and describe its results as follows:

> Remote villages in the interior of Mexico and the Dominican Republic survive because of the remittances, investments, and eventual return of illegal workers in the United States. Remote towns and villages in Peru survive because of the economic initiatives of Lima-based migrants. The similarity of both situations is not accidental for they

> respond to essentially the same structural conditions. These situations attest to an undercurrent of popular economic initiative through which life is made possible within the inequalities and constraints of peripheral capitalism (1981: 64).

Anthropologists studying peasants, coming from traditons of detailed field research at the microlevel, have long emphasized the importance of both peasant social structure and peasant entrepreneurial behavior. Hence the ethnographies of peasant communities which exist today are indispensable in an understanding of the conditions by which peasant households both make possible and respond to migration (e.g., Stein, 1961; Dougthy, 1968; Cancian, 1976; Embree, 1954; Redfield, 1950; Lewis, 1951; Firth, 1946; Foster, 1969; Magnarella, 1975). The importance of peasant social structure and peasant entrepreneurial behavior arises from the earliest anthropological treatments of peasants as people who are intimately tied to and affected by broader political and economic processes, especially at the national level. Kroeber's (1948) early definition gave central importance to the relationships between peasantries and the markets, cities, legal systems, and public policies of the nations in which peasants resided, calling them part-cultures and part-societies of those nations. Wolf's work on aspects of group relations in Mexico (1956) further emphasized the need to conceive of and analyze peasants with constant attention to their interactions with national and, by extension, global political and economic concerns.

These intimate connections between peasants and broader social units makes it necessary for peasants to develop mechanisms within peasant social structure to aid one another in dealing with broader social, cultural, ecnomic, and political pressures (Wolf, 1966: 7-10, 48-59; Foster, 1967: 8-10). Yet these connections between peasants and broader social units also expose peasants to production and marketing opportunities, giving them the chance to utilize their entrepreneurial skills. The present study demonstrates that Jamaican peasants who travel to the U.S. actively attempt to maintain strong social security links with other peasants households, yet, if able, also attempt to take advantage of the few economic opportunities which exist in the Jamaican countryside.

Third, this study has shown that there is a tendency for prolonged participation in the alien labor program to coincide with increased social resource utilization, capital formation and accumulation, and to sometimes lead to short-term and long-term social relational changes among the peasantry which involve combining a variety of social relations of production. It is within the tendency of peasants to combine a variety of social relations in their household production processes that leads to socioeconomic differentiation between peasant households, to the subordination of some peasant households to the production of others, and to structural change in the relationships

between segments of the peasantry and the state and capitalists. This tendency to combine a variety of social relations of production also provides the organizational basis for economic diversification. The fact that peasant households continue to maintain many of their cooperative labor arrangements, sometimes superficially, while adding new social relations to their productive strategies, suggests that the changes occuring within the peasantry involve reorganizations of peasant social relations. This also suggests that peasants are perceptive of the tenuous and often temporary nature of their success, maintaining their abilities to fall back on social relations oriented toward subsistence, reproduction, and social security in times of economic crisis.

Finally, this study shows that there is a tendency among the peasantry to diversify their economic activities, with a steady income from wage labor, moving into agricultural and nonagricultural economic activities. Other studies have noted similar economic activities among migrants returning to peasant communities (Reichert, 1981; Dinerman, 1978, 1981). This means that we cannot expect migration among peasants to lead to increased agricultural production, even when thos peasants do in fact utilize their earnings for the formation and accumulation of capital. Despite these findings, peasants have traditionally been conceptualized as agriculturalists in

the social science literature and little attention has been given to their nonagricultural economic activities. Most often their nonagricultural economic activities have been discussed as simply additional activities which occupy a relatively minor role in the overall houshehold productive strategy and which are subordinate to agriculture (Chayanov, 1966: 101). Some recent studies, however, have shown that economic diversification into agricultural and nonagricultural fields tends to result from increased capitalist penetration into peasant areas (Painter, 1981; Cook, 1983).

In addition to having implications for theory, the above findings also contain implications for questions of development, and in particular how return migration among a peasantry can be coordinated with development programs which buildupon the expenditure behaviors or returning migrants. First, this study has shown that the participation of peasants in wage labor settings has the potential of actually improving the conditions of life of segments within the peasantry, but only if there are, at the same time this participation is going on, alternate support systems and opportunities for peasants which reduce the need of the peasantry to first consider satisfying subsistence, reproduction, and social security. That the peasants will respond to these opportunities and support systems is demonstrated in their tendency to utilize social

resources in their attempts to accumulate capital. Second, the seasonal nature of peasant agricultural production, coupled with the empirical findings that they will diversify their economic activities and move into nonagricultural productive spheres, suggests that these opportunities should not be solely agricultural, which is the current bias of development programming among peasants today. Third, prolonged peasant participation in capitalist wage labor, participation which allows peasants to move between capitalist and peasant sectors on a regular, seasonal basis, such as the alien labor program, sometimes leads to increased socioeconomic differentiation within the peasantry through the formation and accumulation of capital, and the reorganization of peasant social relations of production. The complexity of social relations of production, furthermore, provides the organizational basis for economic diversification.

The second and third predictions presented above point to the importance of recognizing the crucial aspect of frequent and regular movement between peasant and wage labor settings. It is the seasonal nature of the alien labor program which gives it is special and unique dimension as an international labor migration program. As the program functions today, its impact is primarily one of reinforcing social relations which reproduce the work force. However, there are indications that, were this

program expanded in a way which allowed a larger proportion of the work force work for longer than five seasons, more peasant households would have the chance to satisfy a large portion of their maintenance and reproductive costs, and economically expand their productive activities. An expansion of the program in this fashion, however, would be developmentally less useful if unaccompanied by legislation and development programming in Jamaica which aided peasants in their expansion strategies. The Seaga administration has shown no signs of being predisposed toward such goals. Nor is rural development programming oriented toward taking advantage of and enhancing peasant strategies which include expansion into nonagricultural enterprises. The overwhelming agricultural bias of rural development programming today, as evidenced by the predominance of agronomists, agricultural economists and so on in USAID rural development offices and as evidenced by the recent rise of farming systems research (Hansen, et al., 1981; Practicing Anthropology, 1983), can only result in a continued state of underdevelopment among peasants in a world where wealth is measured by an industrial, not an agricultural, gauge. Agricultural development, instead of rural development, will only further reduce peasantries worldwide to the status of maintainers and reproducers and further impede the abilities of peasants to accumulate capital.

The tendencies of Jamaican peasants to diversify their economic activities into nonagricultural areas, as well as their tendencies toward consumer spending in the U.S., dferive in large part from the exposure of peasants to the urban-industrial complex (Pearse, 1971) and their own realization that status, wealth, and prestige are defined by urban and not rural centers. As Foster has written:

> The emotional dependence of the peasant on the city presents an especially poignant case. Peasants throughout history have admired the city, and have copied many of the elements they have observed there. The city, with its glitter and opportunity, holds a fascination, like a candle for a moth. But at the same time, and for good cause, peasants hate and fear cities and the city dwellers who exercise control over them. (1967: 10)

It is no wonder that these peasants who migrate to the U.S. spend so much of their money on clothes, shoes, tape decks, watches and jewelry, or that those who witness their return attach such importance and prestige to these things. Without the ability to withhold substantial portions of their earnings from consumption for investment purposes, these Jamaican peasants are attempting to improve their lives in more minor ways, yet ways which are condoned and appreciated by their friends and kin. As I noted in an earlier chapter, the appreciation of U.S. goods brought back by the farm workers further fuels the desire among the Jamaican peasantry to participate in the program, and further assures a supply of Jamaican labor to the U.S. Nor

is it any wonder that, when the farm workers do have income above what is necessary to maintain their households, they attempt to invest in more urban, nonagricultural sectors of the Jamaican economy.

Development among Jamaica's peasants cannot proceed from ideological foundations of dogmatism nor from a behavioral infrastructure of favoritism, protectionism, vested interests, and political gain. The real world is neither entirely capitalist nor entirely socialist nor is it necessarily desirable for one or the other to prevail. The potential of Jamaica's peasants will only be diluted or undermined by attempting to force them into broad historical processes which pay little attention to the empirical complexities of their day-to-day social relations and strategies. Development efforts must combine, as peasants themselves attempt to combine, capitalist economic opportunity with social programming designed to provide social resources which aid peasants in their basic survival requirements and aid them in their attempts to take advantage of the economic opportunity which exists. Social and economic differentiation is likely to occur under such an approach, and the subordination of some households to the production of others is likely to result as well. Certainly extreme disparities in wealth and prestige are desired only by those who benefit because of them, but to envision an entirely equitable road to development is to

fall into the Utopian backwater which has been the easy prey for capitalist criticisms of Marxism and socialism. The task of development lies not in conceiving of capitalism as an ogre and socialism as a shining star of hope, but of empirically recognizing the promises of peasantries and helping them see those promises fulfilled.

APPENDIX A
1982 PRODUCTION COSTS PER CWT OF IRISH POTATO (JAMAICAN DOLLARS)

I. Seed

$42.00

II. Labor Costs

a) Planting and land preparation:

1.88 man-days

b) Weeding (family labor)

c) Harvesting (three harvests)

1 man-day per CWT per harvest

Total man-days of labor = 4.88

Average daily wage (includes meals) = $9.00

Total labor cost (9 x 4.88) = $43.92

Adjusted for family labor input (25% of labor) - $43.92 x .75 = 32.94.

III. Pesticide

a) $7.00/pound. 1 lb. needed per CWT.

b) $1.50 needed per CWT to hire spray pump. Five sprayings = $7.50.

IV. Fertilizer

$21.00

V. Transportation from seed store to field

$1.00/CWT

Total = $111.44

Total cost per acre (14 CWT) = $1560.16.

APPENDIX B
TABLES DESIGNATING CHARACTERISTICS OF THE FARM WORKERS WHICH ARE TANGENTIAL TO THE TEXT

The information in these tables and those throughout the text concerning the farm workers comes from four sources: 1) the Jamaican subsample collected by Drs. McCoy and Wood in South Florida in March, 1981 (N=206); 2) The Two Meetings Watershed (N=45); 3) The U.S. Northeast and South Florida where I collected data in the fall of 1982 (N=21); and 4) Other parishes in Jamaica where I collected data primarily on long-term (four or more season) farm workers during 1983 (N=9). Some of the tables give a sample size of N=54, which include both the 45 from the Two Meetings Watershed and the 9 from other parishes. Unless otherwise indicated, throughout this appendix, sample size will indicate the population from which the statistics are derived.

Table B-1
Parish Distribution of Farm Workers (N=54)

Parish	Absolute frequency	percent of total
Trelawney	1	1.8
St. Ann	5	9.3
Manchester	21	38.8
Clarendon	18	33.3
St. Elizabeth	7	13.0
Westmoreland	1	1.8
Portland	1	1.8

Table B-2
Nature of Participation in Program (N=54)

Nature of participation	Absolute frequency	percent of total
Apples only	10	18.5
Sugar only	21	38.9
Apples and sugar	23	42.6

Table B-3
Number of Years of Participation (N=54)

Number of years	Absolute frequency	Percent of total
1	13	24
2	4	7.4
3	5	9.2
4	6	11.1
5	7	12.9
6	7	12.9
7	2	3.7
8	2	3.7
9	2	3.7
11	1	1.8
15	1	1.8
17	4	7.4

Table B-4
Percent of Population Farming Some Land in 1980 (N=206)

Absolute frequency	Percent of Total
188	91

APPENDIX C
POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

The major lessons of the Jamaican case and their implications for policy can be summarized as follows:

1) The United States government, though the active annual intervention of the Employment and Training Administration of the Department of Labor, supports the sugar and apple companies by providing them with a captive, docile, ready, and willing labor force, which neither places additional burden on U.S. taxpayers by utilizing social security and welfare systems nor contributes to the maintenance of these systems through taxation. From the perspectives of all parties involved (except those of U.S. domestic labor), the alien labor program's impact on U.S. society and economy is beneficial. The primary beneficiaries are the U.S. agribusinesses which utilize BWI labor, but the merchants in the host communities also benefit from the consumer behavior of the workers. Although various groups representing labor (including the USDOL) have repeatedly argued that a domestic labor force exists for the sugar and apple harvests, their contentions

continue to be undermined by sugar and apple industry reports that the domestic labor force is inadequate due to their ability to move on to subjectively better occupations and hence their unreliability to work the entire season. That the program continues to function, as well as to include increasing numbers of BWI laborers, testifies to the judicial support of the sugar and apple producers.

Given the tradition of government interference which characterizes this program, coupled with the obvious benefit of the program to U.S. agribusinesses, there exists some basis for discussion between the governments of the sending and receiving countries, industry, and labor. Whether or not an improvement in the program which would specifically benefit the sending countries in a developmental sense is truly desired by the parties involved, I cannot say. However, if such an outcome is deemed desirable, then certainly one means of improving the program would be the renewal of contracts on a five-year basis as opposed on an annual basis, assuring that a larger portion of the work force worked four seasons or more. This would also introduce a measure of job security into the program and hence a more secure basis for planning for the workers, since they would be assured this income for five consecutive years (barring accidents). Although this would partially undermine the control the U.S. agribusinesses now have over the workers, it would not

undermine productivity, since high productivity is directly related to high earnings and hence desired by workers as well as industry. As a compromise, to help insure that the sugar companies maintain some control over determining hard workers (however subjectively or objectively defined) from lazy ones, the worker's initial year in the program could be considered his trial year. Then, with the second year of participation, if the worker were requested to return, the five-season contracts could begin.

2) The governments of the sending countries continue to support the alien labor program in the recruitment process, providing a pool of laborers from which U.S. recruiters draw their labor. These governments therefore possess some ability to select for specific behavioral and social characteristics among these workers which covary with various economic behaviors. Depending on the goals of the sending society, this ability constitutes the potential to partially determine the complexion of the labor force in ways which can be linked to development programming at home. Given the present complexion of the labor force, the program could be successfully coordinated with housing schemes which would aid workers in their attempts to meet long-term household consumption demands and provide more workers with the means to shift from consumer spending to investment spending in their first few years of

participation. Beyond this, the recommendations which can be made might well be construed as a conscious attempt to make the program's participants an elite group of laborers. However, the conscious selection of men who have histories of utilizing social resources such as credit, lawyers, development programming, and all available marketing centers (or even the attempted social resource utilization) would result in a greater portion of the four or more season workers diverting overseas funds to the formation and accumulation of capital. The state of record keeping, in Jamaica at least, is sophisticated enough so that determining social resource utilization or attempted social resource utilization would not be difficult on a local level. Also, if the minimum age of participation were raised from twenty-one to thirty, the labor pool would contain more men who had already satisfied many of the household consumption needs associated with a growing family (partial house construction, early childhood medical expenses, clothing costs, etc.), as well as more men experienced in social resource utilization, and hence increase the incidence of the ability to shift from consumer spending to investment spending.

These suggestions, I again point out, are only presented here as examples of the potential the selection process has in determining the ultimate impact of the program on the sending countries.

3) Finally, Jamaican peasant behavior suggests that their principal economic concerns consist of providing housing, satisfying household consumption demands through diversified agricultural activities, and expanding their productive capacities by moving into nonagricultural as well as agricultural sectors of the Jamaican economy. The potential exists for these behaviors to be fueled by the participation of peasants in wage labor settings. However, it is important to note here that, given the specific internal dynamics of the peasantry, the participation of peasants in wage labor settings can most efficiently proceed if the capitalist industries which hire them recognize their need to attend to their own economic activities. That is, they need to move frequently and regularly between the wage labor settings and their peasant economic activities. Realizing this is important in nations such as Jamaica, where a significant portion of the labor force is drawn directly from the peasantry or is connected to the peasantry through kinship and friendship ties. Nations such as Jamaica usually have large surpluses of labor which can be tapped as a key resource and source of human energy in the context of labor-intensive economic activities. However, as Richard Barnet had said, misunderstanding the character of the labor force can lead,

and has led, to industries opting for capital-intensive production techniques:

> Employing a native labor force involves the uncertainties and complications of human relationships, which well-oiled machines, science fiction to the contrary, rarely present. Thus it may be commonplace for members of a family to share a job, a most untidy practice bound to be disconcerting for modern managers. A corporation can find itself drawn into the net of complex family social arrangements. . . . If the paycheck goes to support an array of unemployed cousins and uncles and some catastrophe strikes one or more of them, the corporation may be presented with the choice of extending charity or confirming the popular view that, being too foreign, too antiseptic, and too singleminded, it is even more exploitative than the old local landlord. (Barnet, 1981: 260-61)

Any policy decisions which utilize the finding of this research require, above all else, commitment by an active public sector and the cooperation and willing participation of private local and foreign investors. Whether such commitment exists or is capable of maintaining an active public sector depends not only on those in power in Jamaica, or in other Caribbean Basin nations with problems similar to Jamaica's, but also on those in the governments of developed countries whose policies, aid packages, loans, duties, markets, and regulations influence the direction of development in Jamaica. Clearly, the current administrations in the United States and Jamaica show no tendency to support such policy decisions.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

David Griffith was born in Cherokee, Iowa, in 1951 and raised in Cedar Rapids, the son of a struggling, upper middle class dentist. Never a very precocious child, he was advised by a high school guidance counsellor to join the U.S. armed forces rather than continue his education. As the Vietnam War was raging at this time, Dave questioned the wisdom of this advice and went on to college, attending the University of Northern Colorado, the University of Iowa, from which he received his B.A. and M.A. degrees in anthropology, the University of Montana, and finally the University of Florida. He was for three years a student in the Iowa Writers' Workshop, and in the creative writing program at the University of Montana. He is married, with two daughters, and will soon be joining the staff of the Institute for Coastal and Marine Resources, East Carolina University, Greenville, North Carolina.

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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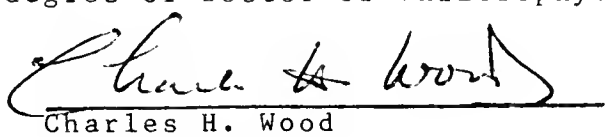

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This dissertation was submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Department of Anthropology in the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences and to the Graduate School, and was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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